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THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE BIBLE



Nihil Obstat.

FR. R. L. JANSEN, O.P.,
S. Theol. Lect.; Script. S. Licent. et Prof.

FR. V. ROWAN, S. Theol. Lect.; Script. S. Licent. et Vet. Test. Prof. aggreg. in Univ. Friburgensi (Helvet).

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Owing to the war—with the resulting rise in prices and lack of labour—it has been found impossible to revise the first edition of this volume. The author hopes, however, to recast it completely at a later period. Meanwhile, only a few necessary corrections have been made.

THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE BIBLE

BY

HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.M.

DOCTOR IN SACRED SCRIPTURE; MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY;
LATE PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS IN THE COLLEGIO ANGELICO, ROME

WITH A PREFACE BY

THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

THE OLD TESTAMENT

SECOND EDITION

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ALUMNIS FAMILIAE

ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM

IN

PROVINCIA ANGLIAE

DEGENTIBUS

"Haec nos . . . non opinionum rivulos persequentes, neque errorum quibus totus mundus repletus est varietate perterriti; sed cupientes et SCIRE et DOCERE quae VERA sunt."

S. JEROME: *Ep. ad Marcellam.*

PREFACE

Such Manuals as "Helps to the Study of the Bible," published by the Oxford University Press, have rendered untold service to students of the Bible of every degree of religious belief, and among them to many Catholics. But it is no unfair depreciation of their undoubted merits to say that such handbooks do not in every way meet the needs of Catholic students. While they are able to give much useful information on such points as the language of the Bible, the integrity of the text, the various versions, and the like, they are perforce silent on the all-important question of the Catholic idea of inspiration, and the decisions of the Holy See on matters of Biblical criticism and interpretation. Thus the Catholic using books of this kind has had to supplement his information from other sources, not always so easily accessible to him, or to leave aside subjects of primary importance to his understanding of the true value of the Sacred Writings. The need of a Catholic Manual of equal amplitude with those to which we have alluded, of the same scholarly character, alive to every modern source of elucidation, and fully cognisant of the most

recent pronouncements of the Holy See, has long been urgently felt both by those who study, and by those who in varying degrees are called to be teachers of, Holy Scripture. In "The Catholic Student's 'Aids' to the Bible," by Father Hugh Pope, O.P., this great need has, we believe, been not only adequately but generously supplied. We have not the competence, even were the time at our disposal, to pass a critical judgement on his work. Such a judgement has been expressed by those to whom his labours have been submitted for official censure. We are content with congratulating him upon what we may regard as the successful accomplishment of protracted, careful, and necessarily anxious labour. We are convinced that this new Catholic Manual will be much valued by our students, both clerical and lay, for whom it has been prepared: and that it will enable all those who use it to arrive at a more intelligent and fruitful knowledge of Holy Scripture than has been easily available in the past. And we earnestly beg God's blessing on the gifted author, and on all those who make use of his work.

FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,
ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,
Feast of St. Gregory the Great,
1913.

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ENCYCLICAL LETTER

OF

OUR HOLY FATHER

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE

POPE LEO XIII.

ON

The Study of Holy Scripture

To Our Venerable Brethren,

All Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Catholic World,

in Grace and Communion with the Apostolic See,

POPE LEO XIII.

VENERABLE BRETHREN

HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

The God of all Providence, Who in the adorable designs of His love at first elevated the human race to the participation of the Divine nature, and afterwards delivered it from universal guilt and ruin, restoring it to its primitive dignity, has in consequence bestowed upon man a splendid gift and safeguard—making known to him, by supernatural means, the hidden Mysteries of His divinity, His wisdom and His mercy. For although in Divine revelations there are contained some things which are not beyond the reach of unassisted reason, and which are made the objects of

such revelation in order "that all may come to know them with facility, certainty, and safety from error, yet not on this account can supernatural Revelation be said to be absolutely necessary; it is only necessary because God has ordained man to a supernatural end."* This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church, is contained both in unwritten Tradition, and in written Books, which are therefore called sacred and canonical because, "being written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and as such have been delivered to the Church."† This belief has been perpetually held and professed by the Church in regard to the Books of both Testaments; and there are well-known documents of the gravest kind, coming down to us from the earliest times, which proclaim that God, Who spoke first by the Prophets, then by His own mouth, and lastly by the Apostles, composed also the Canonical Scriptures‡ and these are His own oracles and words§ —a Letter, written by our Heavenly Father, and transmitted by the sacred writers to the human race in its pilgrimage so far from its heavenly country.‖ If, then, such and so great is the excellence and the dignity of the Scriptures, that God Himself has composed them, and that they treat of God's marvellous mysteries, counsels and works, it follows that the branch of sacred Theology which is concerned with the defence and elucidation of these divine Books must be excellent and useful in the highest degree.

Now We, who by the help of God, and not without fruit, have by frequent Letters and exhortations endeavoured to promote other branches of study which seemed capable of advancing the glory of God and contributing to the salvation of souls, have for a long time cherished the desire to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture, and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the

* Concil. Vat. Sess. III. cap. ii. de Rev. † Ibid.

‡ S. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xi. 3.

§ S. Clem. Rom. 1 *ad Cor.* 45; S. Polycarp. *ad Phil.* 7; S. Irenæus *Contra Hæreses.* ii, 28 2.

‖ S. Chrys. *in Gen.* Hom. 2, 2; S. Aug. *in Ps. xxx. serm* 2, 1; S. Greg. M. *ad. Theod. Ep.* iv. 31.

present day. The solicitude of the Apostolic office naturally urges, and even compels us, not only to desire that this grand source of Catholic revelation should be made safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of Jesus Christ, but also not to suffer any attempt to defile or corrupt it, either on the part of those who impiously and openly assault the Scriptures, or of those who are led astray into fallacious and imprudent novelties. We are not ignorant indeed, Venerable Brethren, that there are not a few Catholics, men of talent and learning, who do devote themselves with ardour to the defence of the sacred writings and to making them better known and understood. But whilst giving to these the commendation they deserve, We cannot but earnestly exhort others also, from whose skill and piety and learning we have a right to expect good results, to give themselves to the same most praiseworthy work. It is Our wish and fervent desire to see an increase in the number of the approved and persevering labourers in the cause of Holy Scripture; and more especially that those whom Divine Grace has called to Holy Orders, should, day-by-day, as their state demands, display greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating and explaining it.

Holy Scripture most Profitable to Doctrine and Morality.

Among the reasons for which the Holy Scripture is so worthy of commendation—in addition to its own excellence and to the homage which we owe to God's Word—the chief of all is, the innumerable benefits of which it is the source; according to the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost Himself, who says: "All Scripture, inspired by God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work." * That such was the purpose of God in giving the Scripture to men is shown by the example of Christ Our Lord and His Apostles. For He Himself Who "obtained authority by miracles, merited belief by authority and by belief drew to Himself the multitude" † was accustomed in the exercise of His Divine Mission, to

* 2 *Tim.* iii. 16, 17. † St. Aug. *de Util. Cred.* xiv. 32.

appeal to the Scriptures. He uses them at times to prove that He is sent by God, and is God Himself. From them He cites instructions for His disciples and confirmation of His doctrine. He vindicates them from the calumnies of objectors; He quotes them against Sadducees and Pharisees, and retorts from them upon Satan himself when he dares to tempt Him. At the close of His life His utterances are from Holy Scripture, and it is the Scripture that He expounds to His disciples after His resurrection, until He ascends to the glory of His Father. Faithful to His precepts, the Apostles, although He Himself granted "signs and wonders to be done by their hands," * nevertheless used with the greatest effect the sacred writings, in order to persuade the nations everywhere of the wisdom of Christianity, to conquer the obstinacy of the Jews, and to suppress the outbreak of heresy. This is plainly seen in their discourses, especially in those of St. Peter; these were often little else than a series of citations from the Old Testament making in the strongest manner for the new dispensation. We find the same thing in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John and in the Catholic Epistles; and most remarkably of all in the words of him who "boasts that he learned the law at the feet of Gamaliel, in order that, being armed with spiritual weapons, he might afterwards say with confidence, 'The arms of our warfare are not carnal but mighty unto God.'" † Let all, therefore, especially the novices of the ecclesiastical army, understand how deeply the sacred Books should be esteemed, and with what eagerness and reverence they should approach this great arsenal of heavenly arms. For those whose duty it is to handle Catholic doctrine before the learned or the unlearned will nowhere find more ample matter or more abundant exhortation, whether on the subject of God, the supreme Good and the all-perfect Being, or of the works which display His glory and His love. Nowhere is there anything more full or more express on the subject of the Saviour of the world than is to be found in the whole range of the Bible. As St. Jerome says, "To be ignorant of the Scripture is not to know Christ." ‡

* *Acts* xiv. 3. † St. Hieron. *de Stud. Script. ad Paulin.* Ep. liii. 3.
‡ *In Isaiam Prol.*

In its pages His image stands out, living and breathing; diffusing everywhere around consolation in trouble, encouragement to virtue and attraction to love of God. And as to the Church, her institutions, her nature, her office, and her gifts, we find in Holy Scripture so many references and so many ready and convincing arguments, that as St. Jerome again most truly says: "A man who is well grounded in the testimonies of the Scripture is the bulwark of the Church."* And if we come to morality and discipline, an apostolic man finds in the sacred writings abundant and excellent assistance; most holy precepts, gentle and strong exhortation, splendid examples of every virtue, and finally the promise of eternal reward and the threat of eternal punishment, uttered in terms of solemn import, in God's name and in God's own words.

And it is this peculiar and singular power of Holy Scripture, arising from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which gives authority to the sacred orator, fills him with apostolic liberty of speech and communicates force and power to his eloquence. For those who infuse into their efforts the spirit and strength of the Word of God, speak "not in word but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much fulness." † Hence those preachers are foolish and improvident who, in speaking of religion and proclaiming the things of God, use no words but those of human science and human prudence, trusting to their own reasonings rather than to those of God. Their discourses may be brilliant and fine, but they must be feeble and must be cold, for they are without the fire of the utterance of God ‡ and they must fall far short of that mighty power which the speech of God possesses: "for the Word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit," § But, indeed, all those who have a right to speak are agreed that there is in the Holy Scripture an eloquence that is wonderfully varied and rich, and worthy of great themes. This St. Augustine thoroughly understood and has abundantly set forth. ‖ This also is confirmed by the best preachers of all ages, who have

* *In Isaiam* liv. 12. † *Thess.* i. 5. ‡ *Jerem.* xxiii. 29.
§ *Hebr.* iv. 12. ‖ *De Doctr. Christ*, iv. 6, 7.

gratefully acknowledged that they owed their repute chiefly to the assiduous use of the Bible, and devout meditation on its pages.

The Holy Fathers well knew all this by practical experience, and they never cease to extol the sacred Scripture and its fruits. In innumerable passages of their writings we find them applying to it such phrases as "an inexhaustible treasury of heavenly doctrine"* or "an everflowing fountain of salvation,"† or putting it before us as "fertile pastures and beautiful gardens in which the flock of the Lord is marvellously refreshed and delighted."‡ Let us listen to the words of St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Nepotian: "Often read the divine Scriptures; yea, let holy reading be always in thy hand; study that which thou thyself must preach. Let the speech of the priest be ever seasoned with Scriptural reading.§ St. Gregory the Great, than whom no one has more admirably described the pastoral office, writes in the same sense: "Those," he says, "who are zealous in the work of preaching must never cease from the study of the written word of God."‖ St. Augustine, however, warns us that "vainly does the preacher utter the Word of God exteriorly unless he listens to it interiorly;"¶ and St. Gregory instructs sacred orators "first to find in Holy Scripture the knowledge of themselves, and then to carry it to others, lest in reproving others they forget themselves."** Admonitions such as these had, indeed, been uttered long before by that Apostolic voice which had learnt its lesson from Christ Himself, Who "began to do and to teach." It was not to Timothy alone, but to the whole order of the clergy, that the command was addressed: "Take heed to thyself and to doctrine; be earnest in them. For in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."†† For the saving and for the perfection of ourselves and of others

* S. Chrys. *in Gen.* Hom. xxi. 2; Hom. lx. 3; S. Aug. *de Disc. Christ*, ii.
† S. Athan. *Ep. fest*, xxxix.
‡ S. Aug. *Serm.* xxvi. 24; S. Ambr. *in Ps.* cxviii. *Serm.* xix, 2.
§ S. Hieron. *de vita cleric.* ad Nepot.
‖ S. Greg. M. *Regul. Past.* ii. 11 (al. 22); *Moral.* xviii. 26 (al. 14).
¶ S. Aug. *Serm.* clxxix. 1.
** S. Greg. M. *Regul. Past.* iii. 24 (al. 48). †† *I Tim.* iv. 16.

there is at hand the very best of help in the Holy Scriptures, as the Book of Psalms, among others, so constantly insists; but those only will find it who bring to this divine reading not only docility and attention, but also piety and an innocent life. For the Sacred Scripture is not like other books. Dictated by the Holy Ghost, it contains things of the deepest importance, which in many instances are most difficult and obscure. To understand and explain such things there is always required the "coming"* of the same Holy Spirit; that is to say, His light and His grace; and these, as the Royal Psalmist so frequently insists, are to be sought by humble prayer and guarded by holiness of life.

What the Bible owes to the Catholic Church

It is in this that the watchful care of the Church shines forth conspicuously. By admirable laws and regulations, she has always shown herself solicitous that "the celestial treasure of the Sacred Books, so bountifully bestowed upon man by the Holy Spirit, should not lie neglected."† She has prescribed that a considerable portion of them shall be read and piously reflected upon by all her ministers in the daily office of the sacred psalmody. She has ordered that in Cathedral Churches, in monasteries, and in other convents in which study can conveniently be pursued, they shall be expounded and interpreted by capable men; and she has strictly commanded that her children shall be fed with the saving words of the Gospel at least on Sundays and solemn feasts.‡ Moreover, it is owing to the wisdom and exertions of the Church that there has always been continued from century to century that cultivation of Holy Scripture which has been so remarkable and has borne such ample fruit.

And here in order to strengthen Our teaching and exhortations, it is well to recall how, from the beginning of Christianity, all who have been renowned for holiness of life and sacred learning, have given their deep and constant attention to Holy Scripture.

* S. Hieron *in Mich.* i. 10.

† Conc. Trid. *Sess.* v. *Decret. de Reform. 1.* ‡ *Ibid.* 1-2.

If we consider the immediate disciples of the Apostles, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp—or the apologists, such as St. Justin and St. Irenæus, we find that in their letters and their books, whether in defence of the Catholic Faith or in its commendation, they draw faith, strength, and unction from the Word of God. When there arose, in various Sees, Catechetical and Theological schools, of which the most celebrated were those of Alexandria and of Antioch, there was little taught in those schools but what was contained in the reading, the interpretation and the defence of the divine written word. From them came forth numbers of Fathers and writers whose laborious studies and admirable writings have justly merited for the three following centuries the appellation of the golden age of biblical exegesis. In the Eastern Church, the greatest name of all is Origen—a man remarkable alike for penetration of genius and for persevering labour; from whose numerous works and his great *Hexapla* almost all have drawn that came after him. Others who have widened the field of this science may also be named, as especially eminent; thus, Alexandria could boast of St. Clement and St. Cyril; Palestine, of Eusebius and the other St. Cyril; Cappadocia, of St. Basil the Great and the two St. Gregories, of Nazianzus and Nyssa; Antioch, of St. John Chrysostom, in whom the science of Scripture was rivalled by the splendour of his eloquence. In the Western Church there were many names as great; Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Leo the Great, St. Gregory the Great; most famous of all, St. Augustine and St. Jerome, of whom the former was so marvellously acute in penetrating the sense of God's Word and so fertile in the use that he made of it for the promotion of the Catholic truth, and the latter has received from the Church, by reason of his pre-eminent knowledge of Scripture and his labours in promoting its use, the name of the "great Doctor." * From this period down to the eleventh century, although Biblical studies did not flourish with the same vigour and the same fruitfulness as before, yet they did flourish, and principally by the instrumen-

* See the Collect on his Feast, September 30th.

tality of the clergy. It was their care and solicitude that selected the best and most useful things that the ancients had left, arranged them in order, and published them with additions of their own—as did St. Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede, and Alcuin, among the most prominent; it was they who illustrated the sacred pages with " glosses " or short commentaries, as we see in Walafrid Strabo and St. Anselm of Laon, or expended fresh labour in securing their integrity, as did St. Peter Damian and Blessed Lanfranc. In the twelfth century many took up with great success the allegorical exposition of Scripture. In this kind St. Bernard is pre-eminent; and his writings, it may be said, are Scripture all through. With the age of the scholastics came fresh and welcome progress in the study of the Bible. That the scholastics were solicitous about the genuineness of the Latin version is evident from the *Correctoria Biblica*, or lists of emendations, which they have left. But they expended their labours and industry chiefly on interpretation and explanation. To them we owe the accurate and clear distinction, such as had not been given before, of the various senses of the sacred words; the assignment of the value of each " sense " in theology; the division of books into parts, and the summaries of the various parts; the investigation of the objects of the writers; the demonstration of the connection of sentence with sentence and clause with clause; all of which is calculated to throw much light on the more obscure passages of the sacred volume. The valuable work of the scholastics in Holy Scripture is seen in their theological treatises and in their Scripture commentaries; and in this respect the greatest name among them all is St. Thomas of Aquin.

When our predecessor, Clement V., established chairs of Oriental literature in the Roman College and in the principal Universities of Europe, Catholics began to make more accurate investigation into the original text of the Bible, as well as of the Latin version. The revival amongst us of Greek learning, and, much more, the happy invention of the art of printing, gave a strong impetus to Biblical studies. In a brief space of time innumerable editions, especially of the Vulgate, poured from the press and were diffused throughout

the Catholic world; so honoured and loved was Holy Scripture during that very period against which the enemies of the Church direct their calumnies. Nor must we forget how many learned men there were, chiefly among the religious orders, who did excellent work for the Bible between the Council of Vienne and that of Trent; men who, by the employment of modern means and appliances and by the tribute of their own genius and learning, not only added to the rich stores of ancient times, but prepared the way for the succeeding century, the century which followed the Council of Trent, when it almost seemed that the great age of the Fathers had returned. For it is well known, and We recall it with pleasure, that Our predecessors from Pius IV. to Clement VIII. caused to be prepared the celebrated editions of the Vulgate and Septuagint, which, having been published by the command and authority of Sixtus V. and of the same Clement, are now in common use. At this time, moreover, were carefully brought out various other ancient versions of the Bible, and the Polyglots of Antwerp and of Paris, most important for the investigation of the true meaning of the text; nor is there any one Book of either Testament which did not find more than one expositor, nor any grave question which did not profitably exercise the ability of many inquirers, among whom there are not a few—more especially of those who made most use of the Fathers—who have acquired great reputation. From that time downwards the labour and solicitude of Catholics have never been wanting; for, as time went on, eminent scholars have carried on Biblical study with success, and have defended Holy Scripture against *rationalism* with the same weapons of philology and kindred sciences with which it had been attacked. The calm and fair consideration of what has been said will clearly show that the Church has never failed in taking due measure to bring the Scriptures within reach of her children, and that she has ever held fast and exercised profitably that guardianship conferred upon her by Almighty God for the protection and glory of His Holy Word; so that she has never required, nor does she now require, any stimulus from without.

How to Study Holy Scripture.

We must now, Venerable Brethren, as our purpose demands, impart to you such counsels as seem best suited for carrying on successfully the study of Biblical science.

But first it must be clearly understood whom we have to oppose and contend against, and what are their tactics and their arms. In earlier times the contest was chiefly with those who, relying on private judgment and repudiating the divine traditions and teaching office of the Church, held the Scriptures to be the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of Faith. Now we have to meet the Rationalists, true children and inheritors of the older heretics, who, trusting in their turn to their own way of thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them. They deny that there is any such thing as revelation or inspiration, or Holy Scripture at all; they see, instead, only the forgeries and the falsehoods of men; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories; the prophecies and the oracles of God are to them either predictions made up after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature; the miracles and the wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere tricks and myths; and the Apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the Apostles at all. These detestable errors, whereby they think they destroy the truth of the Divine Books, are obtruded on the world as peremptory pronouncements of a certain newly-invented "free science" ; a science however, which is so far from final that they are perpetually modifying and supplementing it. And there are some of them who, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God, and Christ, the Gospels and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered both theologians and Christians and men of the Gospel, and who attempt to disguise by such honourable names their rashness and their pride. To them we must add not a few professors of other sciences who approve their views and give them assistance, and are urged to attack the Bible by a similar

intolerance of revelation. And it is deplorable to see these attacks growing every day more numerous and more severe. It is sometimes men of learning and judgment who are assailed; but these have little difficulty in defending themselves from evil consequences. The efforts and the arts of the enemy are chiefly directed against the more ignorant masses of the people. They diffuse their deadly poison by means of books, pamphlets, and newspapers; they spread it by addresses and by conversation; they are found everywhere; *and they are in possession of numerous schools, taken by violence from the Church,* in which, by ridicule and scurrilous jesting, they pervert the credulous and unformed minds of the young to the contempt of Holy Scripture. Should not these things, Venerable Brethren, stir up and set on fire the heart of every pastor, so that to this "knowledge, falsely so called,"* may be opposed the ancient and true science which the Church, through the Apostles, has received from Christ, and that Holy Scripture may find the champions that are needed in so momentous a battle?

Let our first care, then, be to see that in Seminaries and Academical institutions the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of the time demand. With this view, the first thing which requires attention is the wise choice of Professors. Teachers of Sacred Scripture are not to be appointed at hap-hazard out of the crowd; but they must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of, and their long familiarity with, the Bible, and by suitable learning and study.

It is a matter of equal importance to provide in time for a continuous succession of such teachers; and it will be well, wherever this can be done, to select young men of good promise who have successfully accomplished their theological course, and to set them apart exclusively for Holy Scripture, affording them facilities for full and complete studies. Professors thus chosen and thus prepared may enter with confidence on the task that is appointed for them; and that they may carry out their work well and profitably, let them take heed to the instructions We now proceed to give.

* 1 *Tim.* vi. 20.

At the commencement of a course of Holy Scripture let the Professor strive earnestly to form the judgment of the young beginners so as to train them equally to defend the sacred writing and to penetrate their meaning. This is the object of the treatise which is called "Introduction." Here the student is taught how to prove the integrity and authority of the Bible, how to investigate and ascertain its true sense, and how to meet and refute objections. It is needless to insist on the importance of making these preliminary studies in an orderly and thorough fashion, with the accompaniment and assistance of Theology; for the whole subsequent course must rest on the foundation thus laid and make use of the light thus acquired. Next, the teacher will turn his earnest attention to that more fruitful division of Scripture science which has to do with Interpretation; wherein is imparted the method of using the word of God for the advantage of religion and piety. We recognise without hesitation that neither the extent of the matter nor the time at disposal allows each single Book of the Bible to be separately gone through. But the teaching should result in a definitive and ascertained method of interpretation—and therefore the Professor should equally avoid the mistake of giving a mere taste of every Book and of dwelling at too great length on a part of one Book. If most schools cannot do what is done in the large institutions—that is, take the students through the whole of one or two Books continuously and with a certain development—yet at least those parts which are selected should be treated with suitable fulness; in such a way that the students may learn from the sample that is thus put before them to love and use the remainder of the sacred Book during the whole of their lives. The Professor, following the tradition of antiquity, will make use of the Vulgate as his text; for the Council of Trent has decreed that "in public lectures, disputations, preaching and exposition," * the Vulgate is the "authentic" version; and this is the existing custom of the Church. At the same time the other versions which Christian antiquity has approved, should not be neglected, more especially the more ancient MSS. For although the meaning of the

* Sess. iv. Decret. *de edit. et usu. Sacr. Libr.*

Hebrew and the Greek is substantially rendered by the Vulgate, nevertheless wherever there may be ambiguity or want of clearness, the "examination of older tongues,"* to quote St. Augustine, will be useful and advantageous. But in this matter we need hardly say that the greatest prudence is required, for the "office of a commentator," as St. Jerome says, "is to set forth not what he himself would prefer, but what his author says."† The question of "readings" having been, when necessary, carefully discussed, the next thing is to investigate and expound the meaning. And the first counsel to be given is this: That the more our adversaries contend to the contrary, so much the more solicitously should we adhere to the received and approved canons of interpretation. Hence, whilst weighing the meanings of words, the connection of ideas, the parallelism of passages, and the like, we should by all means make use of such illustrations as can be drawn from apposite erudition of an external sort; but this should be done with caution, so as not to bestow on questions of this kind more labour and time than are spent on the Sacred Books themselves, and not to overload the minds of the students with a mass of information that will be rather a hindrance than a help.

Holy Scripture and Theology; interpretation; the Fathers.

The Professor may now safely pass on to the use of Scripture in matters of Theology. On this head it must be observed that in addition to the usual reasons which make ancient writings more or less difficult to understand, there are some which are peculiar to the Bible. For the language of the Bible is employed to express, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, many things which are beyond the power and scope of the reason of man—that is to say, divine mysteries and all that is related to them. There is sometimes in such passages a fulness and a hidden depth of meaning which the letter hardly expresses and which the laws of interpretation hardly warrant. Moreover, the literal sense itself frequently admits other senses, adapted to illustrate dogma or to confirm morality. Where-

* *De Doct. Christiana* iii. 4. † *Ad Pammachium.*

fore, it must be recognised that the sacred writings are wrapt in a certain religious obscurity, and that no one can enter into their interior without a guide; * God so disposing, as the Holy Fathers commonly teach, in order that men may investigate them with greater ardour and earnestness, and that what is attained with difficulty may sink more deeply into the mind and heart; and, most of all, that they may understand that God has delivered the Holy Scriptures to the Church, and that in reading and making use of His Word, they must follow the Church as their guide and their teacher. St. Irenæus long since laid down, that where the *charismata* of God were, there the truth was to be learnt, and that Holy Scripture was safely interpreted by those who had the Apostolic succession.† His teaching, and that of other Holy Fathers, is taken up by the Council of the Vatican, which, in renewing the decree of Trent, declares its "mind" to be this—that "in things of faith and morals, belonging to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be considered the true sense of Holy Scripture which has been held and is held by our Holy Mother the Church whose place it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture against such sense or also against the unanimous agreement of the Fathers."‡ By this most wise decree the Church by no means prevents or restrains the pursuit of Biblical science, but rather protects it from error, and largely assists its real progress. A wide field is still left open to the private student, in which his hermeneutical skill may display itself with signal effect and to the advantage of the Church. On the one hand, in those passages of Holy Scripture which have not as yet received a certain and definite interpretation, such labours may, in the benignant providence of God, prepare for and bring to maturity the judgment of the Church; on the other, in passages already defined, the private student may do work equally valuable, either by setting

* S. Hieron. *ad Paulin. de Studio Script.* Ep. liii., 4.

† *Cont. Haer.* iv., 26, 5.

‡ *Sess. iii. Cap. 2 de Revel.: cf.* Conc. Trid. *Sess. iv. Decret. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

them forth more clearly to the flock and more skilfully to scholars, or by defending them more powerfully from hostile attack. Wherefore the first and dearest object of the Catholic commentator should be to interpret those passages which have received an authentic interpretation either from the sacred writers themselves, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (as in many places of the New Testament), or from the Church, under the assistance of the same Holy Spirit, whether by her solemn judgment or her ordinary and universal *magisterium**—to interpret these passages in that identical sense, and to prove, by all the resources of science, that sound hermeneutical laws admit of no other interpretation. In the other passages, the analogy of faith should be followed, and Catholic doctrine, as authoritatively proposed by the Church, should be held as the supreme law; for, seeing that the same God is the author both of the Sacred Books and of the doctrine committed to the Church, it is clearly impossible that any teaching can by legitimate means be extracted from the former, which shall in any respect be at variance with the latter. Hence it follows that all interpretation is foolish and false which either makes the sacred writers disagree one with another, or is opposed to the doctrine of the Church. The Professor of Holy Scripture, therefore, amongst other recommendations, must be well acquainted with the whole circle of Theology and deeply read in the commentaries of the Holy Fathers and the Doctors, and other interpreters of mark.† This is inculcated by St. Jerome, and still more frequently by St. Augustine, who thus justly complains:—" If there is no branch of teaching, however humble and easy to learn, which does not require a master, what can be a greater sign of rashness and pride than to refuse to study the Books of the divine mysteries by the help of those who have interpreted them ? " ‡ The other Fathers have said the same, and have confirmed it by their example, for they " endeavoured to acquire the understanding of the Holy Scriptures not by their own lights and ideas, but from the writings and authority of the ancients, who in

* Conc. Vat. *Sess. iii., cap. iii. de fide.* † *Ibid.* 6, 7
‡ *Ad Honorat. de util. cred.* xvii., 35.

their turn, as we know, received the rule of interpretation in direct line from the Apostles."* The Holy Fathers "to whom, after the Apostles, the Church owes its growth—who have planted, watered, built, governed, and cherished it—" † the Holy Fathers, We say, are of supreme authority, whenever they all interpret in one and the same manner any text of the Bible, as pertaining to the doctrine of faith or morals; for their unanimity clearly evinces that such interpretation has come down from the Apostles as a matter of Catholic faith. The opinion of the Fathers is also of very great weight when they treat of these matters in their capacity of doctors, unofficially; not only because they excel in their knowledge of revealed doctrine and in their acquaintance with many things which are useful in understanding the apostolic Books, but because they are men of eminent sanctity and of ardent zeal for the truth, on whom God has bestowed a more ample measure of His light. Wherefore the expositor should make it his duty to follow their footsteps with all reverence, and to use their labours with intelligent appreciation.

But he must not on that account consider that it is forbidden, when just cause exists, to push inquiry and exposition beyond what the Fathers have done; provided he carefully observes the rule so wisely laid down by St. Augustine—not to depart from the literal and obvious sense, except only where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires;‡ a rule to which it is the more necessary to adhere strictly in these times, when the thirst for novelty and unrestrained freedom of thought make the danger of error most real and proximate. Neither should those passages be neglected which the Fathers have understood in an allegorical or figurative sense, more especially when such interpretation is justified by the literal, and when it rests on the authority of many. For this method of interpretation has been received by the Church from the Apostles, and has been approved by her own practice, as the holy Liturgy attests; although it is true that the holy Fathers did not thereby pretend directly to

* Rufinus *Hist. Eccl.* ii., 9. † S. Aug. *c. Julian*, ii, 10, 37.
‡ *De Gen. ad. litt.* lib. viii. cap. 7, 13.

demonstrate dogmas of faith, but used it as a means of promoting virtue and piety, such as, by their own experience, they knew to be most valuable. The authority of other Catholic interpreters is not so great; but the study of Scripture has always continued to advance in the Church; and, therefore, these commentaries also have their own honourable place, and are serviceable in many ways for the refutation of assailants and the explanation of difficulties. But it is most unbecoming to pass by, in ignorance or contempt, the excellent work which Catholics have left in abundance, and to have recourse to the works of non-Catholics—and to seek in them, to the detriment of sound doctrine and often to the peril of faith, the explanation of passages on which Catholics long ago have successfully employed their talent and their labour. For although the studies of non-Catholics, used with prudence, may sometimes be of use to the Catholic student, he should, nevertheless, bear well in mind—as the Fathers also teach in numerous passages*—that the sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside of the Church, and cannot be expected to be found in writers who, being without the true faith, only gnaw the bark of the Sacred Scripture and never attain its pith. †

Most desirable it is, and most essential, that the whole teaching of Theology should be pervaded and animated by the use of the divine Word of God. This is what the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages have desired and reduced to practice. It was chiefly out of the Sacred Writings that they endeavoured to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected, and it was in them, together with divine Tradition, that they found the refutation of heretical error, and the reasonableness, the true meaning, and the mutual relation of the truths of Catholicism. Nor will anyone wonder at this who considers that the Sacred Books hold such an eminent position among the sources of Revelation that without their assiduous study and use Theology

* Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 16; Orig. *de Princ.* iv. 8: in *Levit. Hom.* iv. 8; Tertull. *de Præscr.* 15, *et Sqq*; S. Hilar. Pict. *in Matth.* 13. 1.

† S. Greg. M. *Moral.* xx. 9 (al. 11).

cannot be placed on its true footing, or treated as its dignity demands. For although it is right and proper that students in academies and schools should be chiefly exercised in acquiring a scientific knowledge of dogma, by means of reasoning from the Articles of Faith to their consequences, according to the rules of approved and sound philosophy—nevertheless the judicious and instructed theologian will by no means pass by that method of doctrinal demonstration which draws its proof from the authority of the Bible; "for (Theology) does not receive her first principles from any other science, but immediately from God by Revelation. And, therefore, she does not receive of other sciences as from a superior, but uses them as her inferiors or handmaids." It is this view of doctrinal teaching which is laid down and recommended by the prince of theologians, St. Thomas of Aquin,* who, moreover, shows—such being the essential character of Christian Theology—how she can defend her own principles against attack: "If the adversary," he says, "do but grant any portion of the divine revelation, we have an argument against him; thus, against a heretic we can employ Scripture authority, and against those who deny one article we can use another. But if our opponent reject divine revelation entirely there is then no way left to prove the Articles of Faith by reasoning; we can only solve the difficulties which are raised against them." † Care must be taken, then, that beginners approach the study of the Bible well prepared and furnished; otherwise, just hopes will be frustrated, or, perchance, what is worse, they will unthinkingly risk the danger of error, falling an easy prey to the sophisms and laboured erudition of the Rationalists. The best preparation will be a conscientious application to philosophy and theology under the guidance of St. Thomas of Aquin, and a thorough training therein—as We ourselves have elsewhere pointed out and directed. By this means both in Biblical studies and in that part of Theology which is called *positive*, they will pursue the right path and make satisfactory progress.

* I *Summa Theol.*, p. 1, q. 1, a 5 ad 2. † Ibid. a 8.

The Authority of Holy Scripture; Modern Criticism; Physical Science.

To prove, to expound, to illustrate Catholic Doctrine by the legitimate and skilful interpretation of the Bible, is much; but there is a second part of the subject of equal importance and equal difficulty—the maintenance in the strongest possible way of its full authority. This cannot be done completely or satisfactorily except by means of the living and proper *magisterium* of the Church. The Church "by reason of her wonderful propagation, her distinguished sanctity and inexhaustible fecundity in good, her Catholic unity, and her unshaken stability, is herself a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an unassailable testimony to her own Divine mission." * But since the divine and infallible *magisterium* of the Church rests also on the authority of Holy Scripture the first thing to be done is to vindicate the trustworthiness of the sacred records at least as human documents, from which can be clearly proved, as from primitive and authentic testimony, the Divinity and the mission of Christ our Lord, the institution of a hierarchical Church and the primacy of Peter and his successors. It is most desirable, therefore, that there should be numerous members of the clergy well prepared to enter upon a contest of this nature, and to repulse hostile assaults, chiefly trusting in that armour of God recommended by the Apostle, † but also not unaccustomed to modern methods of attack. This is beautifully alluded to by St. John Chrysostom, when describing the duties of priests:—"We must use every endeavour that the 'Word of God may dwell in us abundantly'; ‡ and not merely for one kind of fight must we be prepared—for the contest is many sided and the enemy is of every sort; and they do not all use the same weapons nor make their onset in the same way. Wherefore it is needful that the man who has to contend against all should be acquainted with the engines and the arts of all—that he should be at once archer and slinger, commandant and officer, general and private soldier,

* Conc. Vat. *Sess. iii, c. iii. de fide.* † *Eph.* vi., 13 sqq.
‡ Cf. *Coloss.* iii, 16.

foot-soldier and horseman, skilled in sea-fight and in siege; for unless such a man knows every trick and turn of war, the devil is well able, if only a single door be left open, to get in his fierce bands and carry off the sheep."* The sophisms of the enemy and his manifold arts of attack we have already touched upon. Let us now say a word of advice on the means of defence. The first means is the study of the Oriental languages and of the art of criticism. These two acquirements are in these days held in high estimation, and therefore the clergy, by making themselves more or less fully acquainted with them as time and place may demand, will the better be able to discharge their office with becoming credit; for they must make themselves "all to all,"† always "ready to satisfy every one that asketh them a reason for the hope that is in them."‡ Hence, it is most proper that Professors of Sacred Scripture and theologians should master those tongues in which the sacred Books were originally written; and it would be well that Church students also should cultivate them, more especially those who aspire to academic degrees. And endeavours should be made to establish in all academic institutions—as has already been laudably done in many—chairs of the other ancient languages, especially the Semitic, and of subjects connected therewith, for the benefit principally of those who are intended to profess sacred literature. These latter, with a similar object in view, should make themselves well and thoroughly acquainted with the art of true criticism. There has arisen, to the great detriment in religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of the "higher criticism," which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity and authority of each Book from internal indications alone. It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and the handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the utmost care; and that in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation. To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion

* *De Sacerdotio* iv, 4. † 1 *Cor.* ix, 22. ‡ 1 *Peter* iii, 15.

much more bold and confident in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books; and this vaunted "higher criticism" will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, nor prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons; and seeing that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order.

In the second place, we have to contend against those, who, making an evil use of physical science, minutely scrutinize the Sacred Book in order to detect the writers in a mistake, and to take occasion to vilify its contents. Attacks of this kind, bearing as they do on matters of sensible experience, are peculiarly dangerous to the masses, and also to the young who are beginning their literary studies; for the young, if they lose their reverence for the Holy Scripture on one or more points, are easily led to give up believing in it altogether. It need not be pointed out how the science of nature, just as it is so admirably adapted to show forth the glory of the Great Creator, provided it be taught as it should be, so if it be perversely imparted to the youthful intelligence, it may prove most fatal in destroying the principles of true philosophy and in the corruption of morality. Hence to the professor of Sacred Scripture a knowledge of natural science will be of very great assistance in detecting such attacks on the Sacred Books, and in refuting them. There can never, indeed, be any real discrepancy between the theologian and the physicist, as long as each confines himself within his own lines, and both are careful, as St. Augustine warns us, " not to make rash assertions, or to assert what is not known as known."* If dissension should arise between them, here is the rule also laid down by St. Augustine, for the theologian:— " Whatever they can really demonstrate to be true of physical nature, we must show to be capable of recon-

* *In Gen. Op. imperf.*, ix, 30.

ciliation with our Scriptures; and whatever they assert in their treatises which is contrary to these Scriptures of ours, that is Catholic faith, we must either prove it as well as we can to be entirely false, or at all events we must, without the smallest hesitation, believe it to be so."* To understand how just is the rule here formulated we must remember, first, that the sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost "Who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable unto salvation."† Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—"went by what sensibly appeared," ‡ or put down what God, speaking to men, signified in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.

The unshrinking defence of the Holy Scripture, however, does not require that we should equally uphold all the opinions which each of the Fathers or the more recent interpreters have put forth in explaining it; for it may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect. Hence, in their interpretations, we must carefully note what they lay down as belonging to faith, or as intimately connected with faith—what they are unanimous in. For "in those things which do not come under the obligation of faith, the Saints were at liberty to hold divergent opinions just as we ourselves are,"§ according to the saying of St. Thomas. And in another place he says most admirably:—"When philosophers are agreed upon a point, and it is not

* *De Gen. at litt.*, 1, 21, 41. † *S. Aug. ib.*, 11 9, 20.
‡ *Summa Theol. p.* 1, *q. lxxx*, *a* 1. *ad* 3.
§ *In II Sent. ii., Dist., q.* 1 *a.* 3.

contrary to our faith, it is safer, in my opinion, neither to lay down such a point as a dogma of faith, even though it is perhaps so presented by the philosophers, nor to reject it as against faith, lest we thus give to the wise of this world an occasion of despising our faith."* The Catholic interpreter, although he should show that those facts of natural science which investigators affirm to be now quite certain are not contrary to the Scripture rightly explained, must nevertheless always bear in mind, that much which has been held as proved certain has afterwards been called in question and rejected. And if writers on physics travel outside the boundaries of their own branch, and carry their erroneous teaching into the domain of philosophy, let them be handed over to philosophers for refutation.

Inspiration Incompatible with Error.

The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history. It is a lamentable fact that there are many who with great labour carry out and publish investigations, on the monuments of antiquity, the manners and institutions of nations and other illustrative subjects, and whose chief purpose in all this is too often to find mistakes in the sacred writings and so to shake and weaken their authority. Some of these writers display not only extreme hostility but the greatest unfairness; in their eyes a profane book or ancient document is accepted without hesitation, whilst the Scripture, if they only find in it a suspicion of error, is set down with the slightest possible discussion as quite untrustworthy. It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible; this question, when it arises, should be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact not too easily admitted, but only in those passages where the proof is clear. It may also happen that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, and in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred

* *Opusc, x.*

writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think) in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican. These are the words of the last:—"The Books of the Old and New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the same Council (Trent) and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author." * Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot therefore say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary Author. For, by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture. Such has always been the persuasion of the Fathers. "There-

* *Sess. iii. c. ii. de Rev.*

fore," says St. Augustine, "since they wrote the things which He showed and uttered to them, it cannot be pretended that He is not the writer; for His members executed what their Head dictated."* And St. Gregory the Great thus pronounces:—"Most superfluous it is to inquire who wrote these things—we loyally believe the Holy Ghost to be the Author of the book. He wrote it Who dictated it for writing: He wrote it Who inspired its execution."†

It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the sacred writings, either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, or make God the author of such error. And so emphatically were all the Fathers and Doctors agreed that the divine writings, as left by the hagiographers, are free from all error, that they laboured earnestly, with no less skill than reverence, to reconcile with each other those numerous passages which seem at variance—the very passages which in great measure have been taken up by the "higher criticism;" for they were unanimous in laying it down, that those writings, in their entirety and in all their parts were equally from the *afflatus* of Almighty God, and that God, speaking by the sacred writers, could not set down anything but what was true. The words of St. Augustine to St. Jerome may sum up what they taught:—"On my own part I confess to your charity that it is only to those Books of Scripture which are now called canonical that I have learned to pay such honour and reverence as to believe most firmly that none of their writers has fallen into any error. And if in these Books I meet anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude either that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not expressed the meaning of the passage, or that I myself do not understand it."‡

But to undertake fully and perfectly, and with all the weapons of the best science, the defence of the Holy Bible is far more than can be looked for from the exertions of commentators and theologians alone. It is an enterprise in which we have a right to expect the co-operation of all those Catholics who have acquired

* *De Consensu Evangel. l.* 1, *c.* 35. † *Præf. in Job.* n. 2.
‡ *Ep. lxxxii.* 1, *et crebrius alibi.*

reputation in any branch of learning whatever. As in the past, so at the present time, the Church is never without the graceful support of her accomplished children; may their services to the Faith grow and increase! For there is nothing which We believe to be more needful than that truth should find defenders more powerful and more numerous than the enemies it has to face; nor is there anything which is better calculated to impress the masses with respect for truth than to see it boldly proclaimed by learned and distinguished men. Moreover, the bitter tongues of objectors will be silenced, or at least they will not dare to insist so shamelessly that faith is the enemy of science, when they see that scientific men of eminence in their profession show towards faith the most marked honour and respect. Seeing, then, that those can do so much for the advantage of religion, on whom the goodness of Almighty God has bestowed, together with the grace of the faith, great natural talent, let such men, in this bitter conflict of which the Holy Scripture is the object, select each of them the branch of study most suitable to his circumstances, and endeavour to excel therein, and thus be prepared to repulse with credit and distinction the assaults on the Word of God. And it is Our pleasing duty to give deserved praise to a work which certain Catholics have taken up—that is to say, the formation of societies and the contribution of considerable sums of money, for the purpose of supplying studious and learned men with every kind of help and assistance in carrying out complete studies. Truly an excellent fashion of investing money, and well suited to the times in which we live! The less hope of public patronage there is for Catholic study, the more ready and the more abundant should be the liberality of private persons—those to whom God has given riches thus willingly making use of their means to safeguard the treasure of His revealed doctrine.

Summary.

In order that all these endeavours and exertions may really prove advantageous to the cause of the Bible, let scholars keep steadfastly to the principles which We have in this letter laid down. Let them loyally hold

that God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, is also the Author of the Scriptures—and that therefore nothing can be proved either by physical science or archæology which can really contradict the Scriptures. If, then, apparent contradiction be met with, every effort should be made to remove it. Judicious theologians and commentators should be consulted as to what is the true or most probable meaning of the passage in discussion, and the hostile arguments should be carefully weighed. Even if the difficulty is after all not cleared up and the discrepancy seems to remain, the contest must not be abandoned; truth cannot contradict truth, and we may be sure that some mistake has been made either in the interpretation of the sacred words, or in the polemical discussion itself; and if no such mistake can be detected, we must then suspend judgment for the time being. There have been objections without number perseveringly directed against the Scripture for many a long year, which have been proved to be futile and are now never heard of, and not unfrequently interpretations have been placed on certain passages of Scripture (not belonging to the rule of faith or morals) which have been rectified by more careful investigations. As time goes on, mistaken views die and disappear; but "truth remaineth and groweth stronger for ever and ever." * Wherefore, as no one should be so presumptuous as to think that he understands the whole of the Scripture, in which St. Augustine himself confessed that there was more that he did not know than that he knew,† so, if he should come upon anything that seems incapable of solution, he must take to heart the cautious rule of the same holy Doctor:—"It is better even to be oppressed by unknown but useful signs, than to interpret them uselessly and thus to throw off the yoke only to be caught in the trap of error." ‡

As to those who pursue the subsidiary studies of which We have spoken, if they honestly and modestly follow the counsels we have given—if by their pen and their voice they make their studies profitable against the enemies of the truth, and useful in saving

* III. *Esdras* iv. 38. † *Ad Januar.* Ep. lv. 21.
‡ *De Doctr. chr.* iii. 9, 18.

the young from the loss of their faith—they may justly congratulate themselves on their worthy service of the Sacred Writings, and on affording to Catholicism that assistance which the Church has a right to expect from the piety and learning of her children.

Such, Venerable Brethren, are the admonitions and the instructions which, by the help of God, We have thought it well, at the present moment, to offer to you on the study of Holy Scripture. It will now be your province to see that what we have said be observed and put in practice with all due reverence and exactness; that so, we may prove our gratitude to God for the communication to man of the Words of His Wisdom, and that all the good results so much to be desired may be realized, especially as they affect the training of the students of the Church, which is our own great solicitude and the Church's hope. Exert yourselves with willing alacrity, and use your authority and your persuasion in order that these studies may be held in just regard and may flourish, in Seminaries and in the educational Institutions which are under your jurisdiction. Let them flourish in completeness and in happy success, under the direction of the Church, in accordance with the salutary teaching and example of the Holy Fathers and the laudable traditions of antiquity; and as time goes on, let them be widened and extended as the interests and glory of truth may require—the interests of that Catholic Truth which comes from above, the never-failing source of man's salvation. Finally, We admonish with paternal love all students and ministers of the Church always to approach the Sacred Writings with reverence and piety; for it is impossible to attain to the profitable understanding thereof unless the arrogance of "earthly" science be laid aside, and there be excited in the heart the holy desire for that wisdom "which is from above." In this way the intelligence which is once admitted to these sacred studies, and thereby illuminated and strengthened, will require a marvellous facility in detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, and in gathering and using for eternal salvation all that is valuable and precious; whilst at the same time the heart will grow warm, and will strive with ardent longing to advance in virtue and in divine love,

"Blessed are they who examine His testimonies; they shall seek Him with their whole heart." *

And now, filled with hope in the divine assistance, and trusting to your pastoral solicitude—as a pledge of heavenly grace and a sign of Our special goodwill—to you all, and to the Clergy and the whole flock entrusted to you, We lovingly impart in Our Lord the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, the 18th day of November, 1893, the eighteenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

* *Ps.* cxviii., 2.

INTRODUCTION

We have entitled the following pages: *The Catholic Student's Aids to the Bible.* For, in the first place, these pages constitute an attempt at filling an undeniable gap. These are the days of ever-increasing Bible study, and Catholic students are justified in complaining that it is not easy for them to find Catholic books on the Bible. This defect, it is true, is being rapidly remedied; but it must be long before we have a sufficiency of *Manuals of Introduction* and of adequate Commentaries. But there is, if we may say so, something even more essential to the Biblical student than Introductions and Commentaries. He needs to be guided in his reading of the Bible; he needs to be shewn how to read it with an intelligent interest. In these days of specialisation there is always a danger lest what we may term 'foundation-work' be neglected. And this is especially true of Biblical study. A knowledge of the Written Word itself must precede the use of Commentaries, and even of Introductions. Of what use to read a Commentary on one Book when we are ignorant of the relations between that Book and preceding or subsequent ones? Of what use to read about Inspiration before we know something at least of the Inspired Word itself?

It is true that there are in existence many admirable books on the Bible written by non-Catholics. But these all labour under a twofold defect. In the first place, non-Catholics can never regard the Bible in the same way as we do. For them the Bible is the Living Word of God, and each is at liberty to interpret it as he pleases. For us, on the contrary, the Bible is

not the Living Word; it is God's Word, it is true; but it is not the speaking word which needs no Interpreter; it is given us by the Church, it is authoritatively interpreted by the Church alone, and it is the Church alone which can declare infallibly that it is inspired. It is in this sense that the Bible depends upon the Church and not the Church upon the Bible. Hence, too, the seeming paradox that the Church rests upon the Bible, and the Bible on the Church. Both statements are true—though in different ways. For the Church rests upon the Bible considered as an historical document foretelling, in the Old Testament, the foundation of the Church, and announcing, in the New, its actual establishment. But the Church once established can turn round and say: by the Divine Authority committed to Me I declare that the Bible in which you have read of Me is Divinely inspired.

In this fundamental view, then, of the Bible, Catholics and non-Catholics differ. And the effects of this divergence are far reaching. For the one system means free and ever-changing interpretation, the other means interpretation according to the unchanging mind of the Church, and therefore in accord with Her dogmas and definitions. This explains why we shrink from placing non-Catholic Commentaries in the hands of the young. For in them they are always liable to find views put forward which no Catholic can accept. And since the grounds for the Catholic point of view are not always immediately evident—whereas the grounds asserted for the non-Catholic view are at least plausible—the student is often puzzled and, unless he happen to be exceedingly well grounded in his faith, may actually be in danger. And the second defect is equally dangerous, though it is rather negative than positive. We refer to the absolute lack, in these non-Catholic works, of all appreciation of the work done by Catholic writers on the Bible. To read some of these non-Catholic works one would imagine that previous to the Reformation the Bible had been a sealed book. And if the work done by St. Jerome, for example, is referred to, how little can we trust the details! It is the same with the fundamental doctrine of Inspiration; it is either not treated at all, or it is presented in a form which no Catholic can accept.

And though these difficulties are no new thing and have formed subject of complaint for many years, yet they are increasingly felt in these days of examinations. We are certain, for instance, that many a nun whose business it is to prepare pupils for any of the various examinations where one or more Books of the Bible have to be presented, must have often looked in vain for some clear statement of the Church's teaching on Inspiration—and failed to find it. It is the same with the history of the Vulgate and of our own Douay version. Their history is unknown to us Catholics because it is next to impossible to find any reliable account of them.

Our object, then, has been to provide what may be—for the lack of any better term—called an 'AIDS' to the Bible. It is not an *Introduction*, still less is it a *Dictionary of the Bible*. But we have departed from the lines usually adopted in similar 'Aids,' and have developed certain features at the expense of others. Thus we have omitted the Concordances generally given, for we felt that the space thus saved might with profit be devoted to an amplification of the 'Introductions' to each Book. These latter we have intentionally made very full. And we have done so with the view of interesting the student in the Books themselves by showing him their contents and divisions, the main points in their teaching, the principal proofs of their authenticity, and by indicating any serious difficulties connected with these questions. Perhaps we shall be told that in so doing we have trenched upon the preserves of the 'Introduction' properly so-called; and this accusation will be a just one in the case of certain Books, e.g., *Genesis*, the *Psalter*, and the *Major Prophets*. But we have felt justified in doing this. For *Genesis* is the key to the whole Bible, and if a student has a wrong idea of this Book he will have a false notion of many other Books. The *Psalter*, again, is too exclusively the priests' Book; it should not be so, it should be the ordinary meditation book for many. A similar apparent want of proportion will be noticed in the amount of space given to the history of the Vulgate version; but here again we plead justification, for the Vulgate is the priceless treasure of the Church, we cannot know too

much about it. We have appended plain outline maps, for no one can hope to understand the historical books, least of all the Books of *Maccabees*, without a map. The last feature to which we would draw attention is the constant reference to St. Jerome and St. Augustine; if the passages quoted have the effect of sending only one student to the originals and initiating him into the treasures of these two Fathers they will have served their purpose and will have not been superfluous.

And following in the steps of these two great Biblical students we have not hesitated to point out the difficulties of the Bible. Readers of St. Augustine's Sermons, especially those for Easter-tide, will recall how frankly he sets before his flock the apparent contradictions in the narratives of the Resurrection. And surely it is preferable that a student should from the outset be familiarised with the fact that the Bible is a book which 'he who runs may *not* read' than that he should later be tempted to think that difficulties and apparent contradictions have been unfairly glozed over by his teachers. In St. Jerome's words: *Meum propositum est antiquos legere, probare singula, retinere quae bona sunt, et a fide Ecclesiae Catholicae non recedere* (*Ep.* cxix. 11). And though some may be inclined to look askance on such frankness, we are content to follow the Bishop whose privilege it was "to enrich Rome with the produce of Africa" and the "veteran" who was content "to whisper to a poor auditory in a corner of his monastery at Bethlehem" (*Ep.* cxii.)

The author is only too conscious of many defects in his work; but the more freely these are pointed out the more pleased he will be.

THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE BIBLE

CHAPTER I

THE BIBLE is the name given to the collection of seventy-three books which go to form the Old and New Testaments. The name 'Bible' is derived from the Greek 'Biblia' the neuter plural of 'Biblion' 'a book.' Thus the name was originally plural; it has passed into the singular partly owing to a natural misunderstanding of the word, but partly also through a very true feeling regarding the real character of the Bible. For though the authors were many, the Divine Author is but One, as St. Jerome says: "The lion of the tribe of Juda is Our Lord Jesus Christ; He 'broke the seals of the Book,' and that 'Book' is not merely the one book of the Psalter, as many think, but the Book of all the Scriptures, for they were written by the One Holy Spirit and are therefore termed one Book" *(in Isaiam xxix.)*. It is in this sense that the Fathers speak of the 'Divine Library' when referring to the Sacred Scriptures; see, for example, St. Jerome *Ep.* lxxxix., to St. Augustine, also his *Preface* to Esther. In the Bible itself we read of 'the books,' Dan. ix. 2; of 'the holy books,' I. Macc. xii. 9; cf. also I. Macc. i. 56, 57, iii. 48, St. Matth. xxi. 42, xxii. 39, St. Luke xxiv. 32, Acts xviii. 24, St. John v. 39.

The titles 'Old' and 'New *Testament*' are familiar to us, and St. Paul uses them in II. Cor. iii. 6, 14; but the Greek word 'diatheke' in the Old Testament, e.g.,

in Gen. xvii., means rather a Covenant than a will or testament, though in the Ep. to the Hebrews, ix. 15-17, it is used in this latter sense. Tertullian uses almost habitually the term 'instrument,' understanding thereby 'a legal document'; he was a lawyer.

The *divine* character of the Bible has always been a fundamental principle with the Fathers of the Church. Thus St. Augustine beautifully describes the Bible as God's Letter to us men: "We could believe Him," he says, "merely on His word. But He did not wish us merely to believe His word, He wished His writing to be held to. Much as though you were to say to a man when you promised him something: Do not accept my word for it, I will give it you in writing. For since generations come and go, and the centuries slip by—we mortals give place to and succeed one another—God's writing had to remain; it was to be His Handwriting which all who passed by might read and so might hold to the way of His promises." *Enar. in Ps. cxliv.* Similarly, *Confess. VII. xxi.*, he terms the Sacred Scriptures 'the venerable pen of Thy Spirit.' And since the Bible is thus Divine there can be *no* error in it; thus St. Augustine writes to St. Jerome: "I have learnt to pay only to those Books of Scripture which are called Canonical such reverence and honour as to firmly believe that no one author of those Books has erred in aught that he wrote. Hence, if in any one of those Books I stumble upon something which seems opposed to the truth, I have no hesitation in saying that either my copy is faulty, or that the translator has not fully understood what was said, or that I myself have not understood." *Ep. lxxxii. ad Hier.* But though Divine, these same Scriptures are only for a time: "When the Lord Jesus Christ shall come, then in the presence of the Day lamps will no longer be needed; the Prophets will not be read to us, we shall not open the Book of the Apostles, we shall not seek the testimony of John, we shall not need the Gospel. Then all the Scriptures will be taken away; in the night of this world they were lit for us to be like lamps lest we should remain in darkness. But when they are taken away what shall we see?. . . We shall see Him even as He is." *Tractatus in Joan, xxxv.* 9. "But while these Scriptures are with us," says the

same great Saint, "we must needs study them and study them deeply for they are difficult."

No one studied Holy Scripture more assiduously than did St. Augustine, yet no one complains more feelingly of their obscurity: "They who read them rashly," he says, "are deceived by many and manifold obscurities . . . for so obscurely are some things set forth as to be wrapped in deepest darkness." *Doct. Christ. II. vi.* 7. Indeed St. Augustine's whole treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* is devoted to showing how the student may best avoid the difficulties which the Saint himself had encountered in his laborious Scriptural studies. These difficulties, he tells us, are due to several causes: the Scriptures are written in what are, for the most part, dead languages; hence he insists much on the need of cultivating a knowledge of these languages: "a knowledge of these tongues is necessary; for while we can count those who have translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, the Latin translators (of the Greek versions) are innumerable." *Doct. Christ. II. xi-xii*, cp. *De Civ. Dei. XV.* 14, and *XVIII.* 43. The remote date, too, at which these Books were written is another source of obscurity; hence, the divergence of their authors' ideas from ours; while the allusions to customs of long ago naturally elude us. And there must be added the complication arising from the different 'senses' of Scripture; again and again Augustine returns to the difference between the spirit and the letter, between the literal and the metaphorical sense; cf. *Conf. XII.* 18-32, and especially note his words in *De Doct. Christ. III. v.*: "The ambiguity of the translated word calls for no small care and industry. For at the outset we must beware lest we take the figurative for the literal." This is what the Apostle means when he says: "*the letter killeth but the spirit quickeneth* And nothing can be more fittingly termed the death of the soul than when, by following the letter, that intellect by which we are distinguished from the beasts is subjected to the flesh"; and he instances as examples of such slavery, a merely material understanding of the words Sabbath and sacrifice.

Hence, again, St. Augustine is never weary of telling the student how he must approach to the study of the Sacred Word. First of all he must ever bear in mind

the Divine authority which speaks: "For we walk by faith and not by sight; but faith totters if the authority of Holy Scripture is weakened; and when faith totters charity itself languishes." *Doct. Christi II.* 37. We must come, then, in a spirit of fear: "They that fear God, and through love of Him are meek, seek in all these Books the will of God. And the starting point of all this toil and labour must be, as we have said, to know the Books themselves and, even if you have not yet arrived at their understanding, to strive by assiduous reading either to commit them to memory, or at least not to be entirely ignorant of them. . . And then when at length you have gained a certain familiarity with the actual language of Holy Scripture you can go on to examine and discuss those passages which are obscure, so that from the less obscure you may rise to the understanding of the more obscure, and thus the witness of certain clear phrases will remove all doubtfulness from those which are not so clear. And in this study the memory is of great assistance, so much so that if it is lacking you cannot attend to my teaching." *Doct. Christ. II. ix.* 14. Humility, too, is necessary: "When you begin to examine the Sacred Scripture cease not to reflect upon the Apostolic maxim: *knowledge puffeth up, charity edifieth. Doct. Christ. II. xli.* 62. And besides humility we need its corollary, prayer: "We must not only admonish those who study these venerable Letters, to know the modes of expression proper to Holy Scripture, and to note carefully and commit to memory the fashion in which things are there said, but also, and this is more especially necessary, let them pray to understand." *Doct. Christ. III. xxxvii.* 56.

And with St. Augustine, the foregoing are but the preliminaries. To the student who has grasped them he proposes certain sound principles of investigation in the Third Book of the *De Doct. Christ.*: these rules the student should read for himself, as indeed the whole of this treatise, but St. Augustine has summed up his teaching on the elementary rules of criticism in a passage of the *De Gen. ad Litt. I. xxi.* 41: "When we read the Divine Books and find so many diverse but true interpretations deduced from but a few words and supported by

sound Catholic faith, we should choose that interpretation which the Sacred Author whom we are reading appears to have held; but supposing we cannot determine what he really thought, we must choose that interpretation which does not run contrary to the context and which agrees with sound faith; and if, lastly, we cannot arrive at any clear understanding of the context, then we can but follow the interpretation which sound faith demands. For it is one thing not to know what a writer really meant, quite another to fall away from the rule of piety." And these last words of the Saint bring us to the question of interpretation and therefore to the Church.

As we have already pointed out, the Bible is essentially an obscure and a difficult book. This is no new idea. St. Peter said it long ago when he complained that in the Epistles of " our most dear brother Paul are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and the unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction." *II. Peter iii.* 15-16. If the Apostles needed Our Lord's special instruction to enable them to 'understand the Scriptures,' *St. Luke xxiv*, 43, we must need the same assistance, cf. also *Acts viii.* 30-31. Indeed it is a mystery how any one can ever have convinced himself that the Bible was an open book and one which could be safely put into the hands of all. All heresies are the outcome of misunderstanding of Biblical texts, cf. St. Augustine *Tract. XVIII. I in Joan.* It is important to understand this clearly, for in these days of Bible-propagation we are sometimes apt to think the Church hard in Her treatment of *The Bible Society* for instance. But the truth is that the Church condemns this Society not for spreading the Bible broadcast—though that is certainly not to be commended—but because its fundamental principle is the all-sufficiency of Scripture, i.e., that it needs no interpreter and that each man is at liberty to deduce from it what doctrine he pleases. St. Irenæus voices the tradition of the Church when he says: " Where, therefore, the gifts of the Lord have been placed, there it behoves us to learn the truth, namely from those who possess that succession of the Church which is from the Apostles, and among whom

exists that which is sound and blameless in conduct as well as that which is unadulterated and incorrupt in speech. For these also preserve this faith of ours in One God Who created all things; and they increase that love which we have for the Son of God Who accomplished such marvellous dispensations for our sakes; and *they expound the Scriptures to us without danger,* neither blaspheming God, nor dishonouring the Patriarchs, nor despising the Prophets." *Adv. Haer. IV.* 26. And since Origen is often spoken of as though he were in some vague way opposed to the teachings of the Church (we do not of course deny that he held wrong views on many points of doctrine, but this was not in opposition to the Church which had not at that time defined the true doctrine to be held on the points in question), it may be as well to quote the express teaching which he lays down in the Preface to that work of his the *De Principiis,* which afterwards brought him into such obloquy: "As the teaching of the Church, transmitted in orderly succession from the Apostles, and remaining in the Church to the present day, is still preserved, that alone is to be accepted as truth which differs in nothing from ecclesiastical and Apostolical tradition. . . The particular points clearly delivered in the teaching of the Apostles are as follows:"—and he proceeds to enumerate various points of doctrine—adding, "and finally, that the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God." That certain Scriptures are inspired could be gathered from certain Books, but none of them tell which are the inspired Books. It needs the living voice of the Church to declare this.

This traditional doctrine is summed up in the words of the Council of Trent as follows:

"Further, it is decreed that no one should, relying on his own skill, and distorting the Holy Scriptures to his own purposes, interpret the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith and morals—which are concerned with the upholding of Christian doctrine—in any sense other than that which Holy Mother Church has held and continues to hold; for it is for Her to judge of the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture. Nor should he interpret them contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers," *Sessions IV.* This decree was

renewed in express terms by the Vatican Council, *Sess. III. cap. ii.*

But while the Church reserves to Herself the right to officially interpret the Bible, She in no sense forbids Her Doctors and learned men to comment on and interpret Holy Scripture—subject of course to certain necessary reservations. This point is fully brought out in the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* given above. It will suffice to indicate a few of the rules which every Catholic exegete must observe:

(*a*) If the Church has *definitely defined* the sense attaching to any particular passage a Catholic commentator must adhere to such interpretation. Such authoritative interpretations, be it noted, are rare, we may instance St. Jas. v. 14-15, St. Luke xxii, 19.

(*b*) And the Catholic interpreter is not only bound by these solemn and Conciliar declarations, but also by those less solemn indications of the Church's mind which occur in Papal Encyclicals; for, though not infallible, these yet emanate from the teaching office of the Church.

(*c*) He is bound also to argue in accordance with the *analogy of Catholic faith;* a Catholic cannot, for instance, give such an interpretation to the expression 'the Brethren of the Lord' as would run counter to the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Virgin.

(*d*) Neither can he give his assent to interpretations which are not in accord with the *unanimous teaching of the Fathers*, for if he did so he would not be judging *with* the Catholic Church, in accordance with St. Augustine's dictum, '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*'

The following practical rules are too often neglected:

(*a*) In arriving at an ultimate decision upon any interpretation we can never abstract from the *inspiration* of the passage in question. For the ultimate decision of any discussion must necessarily take into account *all* the factors, and inspiration is one of these.

(*b*) We must not treat these ancient Books as we treat a modern work, we must bear in mind the *genius*

of the Hebrews. Their methods of writing history, or even poetry, were not those of the twentieth century. There were no such things as copyright or plagiarism in those days.

(*c*) History is of a different character according as the author intended to write a strictly historical book or merely a book containing historical details which were the framework of his treatise, e.g., the Book of Job.

(*d*) The *context* has to be studied, and not merely the immediate context but the whole literary context of the book in question; this is especially true of the Gospels which differ, not so much in the actual facts they present, as in the mode of their presentation. Nothing can be more instructive than the way in which St. Thomas faces these complicated questions of exegesis. When he is treating of the Creation he distinguishes two things: the substance of what belongs to faith, viz. 'that the world began to be created,' and the mode and order of this creation. This latter, he says, only belongs accidentally to faith, i.e., inasmuch as it is told in Holy Scripture, and of this the Fathers have given various interpretations, for example, St. Augustine, who in four different places and at four different times examines the first three chapters of Genesis and was never satisfied with any of his explanations. St. Thomas points out that some of the Fathers maintain that the various phases of the creation indicate different periods of time, but that St. Augustine thinks that 'Moses, since he had to instruct an uneducated people in the story of the world's creation, divided up events which really took place all together.' St. Thomas allows that the former opinion is the more common, but he says that of St. Augustine 'is more reasonable and less liable to expose Holy Scripture to the contempt of unbelievers.' Here we have very broad principles of exegesis, yet they are established on a solid basis and no one can contemn them as rash.

THE NUMBER, ORDER, AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the *Latin* Vulgate Bible, and in the *English* versions, the Books of the Old Testament fall into the following groups:—

A. HISTORICAL; from Genesis to Esther.

B. POETICAL; Job to Ecclesiasticus.

C. PROPHETICAL; Isaias to Malachias.

D. HISTORICAL SUPPLEMENT; I-II. Maccabees.

We may further break up these groups as follows:—

A. The HISTORICAL Books.

(*a*). Genesis to Deuteronomy, i.e., the *Pentateuch*, or 'five volumes.' These treat of the foundations of the *Theocracy* or divine government of Israel without the intervention of a king who should stand between God and His people. These five Books cover the period from about 1490-1450 B.C.

(*b*). Josue, Judges, and Ruth; or the *Theocracy at work.* This is the period 'when there was no king in Israel,' it lasted from about 1450-1100 B.C.

(*c*). I-IV. Kings and I-II. Paralipomena; the *Theocratic kingdom;* i.e., from about 1100-562 B.C.

(*d*). Esdras and Nehemias, Tobias, Judith and Esther, the period of the *Exile and the Restoration*, i.e., about 588-440 B.C.

(*e*). I-II. Maccabees, the history of the *Wars of Independence, about* 166-130 B.C.

B. The POETICAL Books may be divided into

(*a*). The Poetical Books properly so-called, i.e., Job, Psalms, and Canticle of Canticles.

(*b*). The Didactic or teaching Books, i.e., Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus.

C. The PROPHETICAL Books are divided into

(*a*). The Major Prophets, i.e., Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, and Daniel; they are placed in their chrono-

logical order. Lamentations and Baruch follow Jeremias.

(*b*). The Minor Prophets, i.e., Osee, Joel, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias.

The order in the principal *Greek* MSS. varies greatly, but it seems probable that the present order of the Latin Bibles is founded on an order preserved originally in the Greek Bibles.

In the *Hebrew* Bibles quite a different order is observed. The whole Bible is divided into three parts:

A. The LAW or Thorah, i.e., the Pentateuch.

B. The PROPHETS.

(*a*). The Former Prophets, i.e., Josue to Kings.

(*b*). The Later Prophets, i.e., Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets.

C. The WRITINGS: These fall into four groups:

(*a*). The Poetic and Sapiential books, Psalms, Proverbs, Job.

(*b*). The five Megilloth or 'rolls' as they were termed, i.e., Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther.

(*c*). A Prophetical book, Daniel.

(*d*). The historical books, i.e., I-II. Paral. and I-II. Esdras.

The application of the term 'Prophets' to the historical books is at first sight strange, but it shows real insight into the character of the Biblical writings; for histories as histories have no place in them, it is only as inspired histories, i.e., as histories set forth for the sake of the revelation of God's dealings with men which they contain, that they find a place in the Bible, And it is in this sense that the Hebrews classed these writings among 'the Prophets.'

In the Greek and Latin Bibles, and in all Catholic versions of them, we find certain Books which do not appear in the Hebrew Bible nor in those versions which regard this latter as the sole source of inspired Scripture; these Books are Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and I-II. Maccabees; they are termed *Deuterocanonical*, as being derived from the

second, Greek *deuteros*, canon, i.e., that of the Alexandrian, as opposed to the Palestinian Jews. Certain portions of Esther and Daniel are also found only in the Greek text as opposed to the Hebrew.

Counting all the Books separately, we have in the Latin and Greek Bibles, and in those versions derived from them, 46 Books in the Old Testament. In the Hebrew Bible we have 39 if we count each one separately; but the Jews themselves count them as 22 or sometimes 24. These numbers are arrived at by counting the 'Law' as one Book, the 'Prophets' as ten Books, the 'Writings' as eleven Books, i.e., 22 in all. To obtain this number, however, Ruth was counted as one Book with Judges, and Lamentations as one with Jeremias; if these two were enumerated separately the resulting number was 24.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE TEXT. The various Books of the Bible were apparently written in rolls, cf. Ps. xxxix 8, 'in the roll of the book,' and Jer. xxxvi., 2, 23. The first mention of the written record appears apropos of the battle with the Amalecites, Exod. xvii. 14; cf. Deut. xvii. 18, xxxi. 24-26. In this last passage we see that these Writings were delivered to the custody of the priests. That some official book was kept appears from Jos. xxiv. 26, and I. Sam. x. 25. The story of the discovery of 'the Law' in the time of Josias is told in IV. Kgs. xxiii.-xxiv. In the *Prologue* to Ecclesiasticus we find mentioned three times over the threefold division into the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. When we come to the days of the Maccabees, the Sacred Books are regarded as precious, and their destruction is demanded by Antiochus as a means for rooting out the religion of the Hebrews.

Apart from the actual committal of these Books to writing, three important stages should be noted, (*a*) the formation of the versions, (*b*) the invention of the Hebrew vowel-system, (*c*) the invention of printing. The earliest version is the so-called Septuagint (LXX.), or Alexandrian Greek version. Its appearance was the signal for increased care for their Sacred Books on the part of the Jews, and from about the second century B.C., we find a body of Scribes whose duty

it was to watch over the text, for further details see *s.v. Hebrew Bible.* After the close of the first century of the Christian era, the Christian versions began to be made, at first from the Greek, later, by St. Jerome, from the Hebrew itself. Meanwhile the laborious work of the Scribes did not cease, and from the seventh to the ninth centuries we have the Massoretes who created the cumbersome but invaluable system of vocalisation which has preserved the traditional reading of the old Hebrew text. But long before this there had arisen the monastic copyists whose life's work it was faithfully to transcribe the text of the Bible. To their labours we owe the present well-nigh incredible number of MSS. of the Bible, whether in Greek or in Latin. And it was not only the monks who made these copies: it is interesting to find a wealthy Spaniard, Lucinius, sending his own servants to St. Jerome to copy the Saint's translations of the Bible. St. Jerome writes to him: " I have given them (the translations) to your servants to transcribe. I have seen the paper copies which they have made, and have repeatedly ordered them to correct them by a diligent comparison with the originals. . . . if you find errors or omissions which interfere with the sense, you must impute these not to me but to your own servants, for they are due to the ignorance or carelessness of the copyists who write down not what they find, but what they take to be the meaning, and who expose their own errors when they try to correct those of others." *Ep.* lxxi.

In our account of the Vulgate version we have described the labours of Alcuin who revised the Latin text; as also the ' Correctories ' of the thirteenth century. With the fifteenth century came the invention of printing.

From all this it will be apparent that the Bible has been preserved in a way in which no other book in the world has ever been preserved. For many classical works, for example, we are dependent on but one or two MSS. which, in some cases, date from a time long posterior to the date at which the original was written. And while it is unfortunately true that we have few and only late MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, this lack is counterbalanced by the immense number of early MSS. of the different versions.

BIBLICAL HISTORY. For details we must refer the reader to the Introductions to the individual Books; but the history as presented to us in the Bible may be briefly stated as follows: in Gen. i-xi., we have the history of the Origins of the world, i.e., the story of the first human pair; of their sons, Cain and Abel; of *Seth,* who was given to them in place of Abel; of the posterity of Seth and their apostasy; of Noe, the Flood and the Ark; of the Semites, or descendants of *Sem,* son of Noe.

In judging of this history we must remember that it is by no means complete; it is not intended to be so, it is merely the history of the Chosen People. The progeny of the first pair must have been enormous, but we hear nothing of them except incidentally, as, for instance, when Cain is said to have a wife. Thus we have not a history of the world, but a history—and that a religious history—of one particular branch of the human race. Neither have we a scientific history, but rather a presentment of the origins of the world from the standpoint of a primitive people. This is what St. Jerome means when he says that ' many things in Holy Scripture are said according to the ideas of the time at which the things took place and not according to actual truth ' *(in Jer. xxviii.* 10*).* And so we find St. Augustine saying that though the creation is presented to us as though it took place in regular sequence yet it really all took place at once *(De Gen. ad litt.* VI. xi-xii.); on this St. Thomas remarks: 'And so Moses, since he was instructing an uneducated people in the (manner of the) world's creation, divided up into parts what really took place all at once ' (II. Sent. XII. i. 2.).

When the Semites have thus been brought on the scene we are introduced to *Abram,* of the family of Thare, a Semite; his divine call is given, and his history as 'Father of the Faithful,' xii-xxv.; in xiv. we touch contemporary history in the story of Amraphel or Hammurabi. The stories of Isaac and Jacob are then given; and, in the days of his son Joseph, Jacob goes down into Egypt, and the prophecy in xv. 13, is fulfilled. The Book of *Exodus* takes up the thread; God intervenes to redeem His people as He had promised in Gen. xv. 15; the story of the plagues

follows, and then comes the Exodus with its miracles, the journey to Sinai, the legislation there given, and, as throughout, the apostasy of this wayward people. *Leviticus* is a digression setting before us the ritual of the priestly caste with, however, history interwoven. In *Numbers* we have the break up of the camp at Sinai, and the setting out for the Land of Promise. But the infidelity of the people causes an interruption of thirty-eight years, during which all over twenty years of age, save Josue and Caleb, die off, and a new generation springs up. The final advance now commences, and in *Deuteronomy* we have Moses' retrospect of the events of the years of wandering and a restatement of the Law with additions suitable to the future. According to the ordinary chronology we have now reached the year, approximately, 1450 B.C. In *Josue* we read of the capture and division of the land, in *Judges* of the alternate apostasies and repentances of the people. This brings us down to about the year 1100 B.C. In *I-II. Sam.* we have the story of the last judges, Eli and Samuel, and of the establishment of the Monarchy. First we are told of the people's choice, viz., Saul. He is a failure and God raises up David in his place. The Davidic House is then established and consolidated. In *III-IV. Kgs.* the kingdom is at its apogee, but Solomon's sin leads to the fatal Schism, and the kingdom is divided into that of the North, i.e., that of the Ten Tribes, and that of the South, i.e., Juda and Benjamin. The history of the two kingdoms is told in parallel lines till, in 721 B.C., we come to the destruction of that of the North by the Assyrians. It is not long before the destruction of that of the South by the Chaldeans follows, viz., in 588 B.C. In *I-II. Paral.* we have the same story told from the standpoint of a Levite who dwells upon the glories of the Davidic House when it remained faithful to God; by means of genealogies, the author gives a brief retrospect of the whole past history, but he is mainly occupied with the history of Juda. The Prophets, Jonah, Joel, Amos, Osee, Isaias, Micheas, Abdias, Nahum, Sophonias, Jeremias, Habacuc, and Ezechiel throw much light on the contemporary history. In *I-II. Esdras* we have the story of the return from Exile, a period which is illustrated also by the prophe-

cies of Aggeus, Zacharias, and Malachias. The history of the Exile itself is illustrated by the Books of *Tobias* and *Esther*, while *Judith* is probably to be referred to the post-Exilic period.

From the time of Esdras and Malachias, *c.* 440 B.C., the history of Israel is shrouded in gloom till we come to the days of the Maccabees, *c.* 166-130 B.C. For details see the Introduction to I-II. Maccabees. The essential point to notice, however, is that these years during which the voice of Prophecy was silent were a preparation for the coming of the Messias. The whole history as presented in the Old Testament Books anterior to the Exile is a pitiful story of apostasy and idolatry. Even the miracles and wonders of the Exodus could not wean the Hebrews from their inclination to idol worship. Even the sufferings of the Desert failed to win them completely to God. And after the days of David we find king after king throwing away his heritage by weakly giving in to the same tendency. But what the previous scourges of God had not succeeded in doing—that the fires of the Exile did. When once the Chosen People found themselves back in the Land of Promise, and redeemed from Babylon, they abandoned their idols, and the charge of heathenism was never again brought against them. They set themselves to the study and minute observance of the Law. We see this spirit at its best in the days of the Maccabees, we see it at its worst in the days of Our Lord. For it must be confessed that the Jews of New Testament times had learnt to make an idol of the Law. But we must reserve an examination of the forces which prevailed at the time of Christ's coming for the volume on the New Testament.

CHRONOLOGY. The Bible provides data by means of which the Creation has commonly been referred to 4004 B.C. It will, perhaps, make for clearness if we begin at the end and work backwards.

A. The Birth of Our Lord has been wrongly calculated, as is universally acknowledged, and must be put back four years. The period between His birth and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans in 588 B.C., offers little difficulty since we have so many synchronistic dates furnished by other coun-

tries outside Palestine; thus the Maccabean era, for example, is readily dated by that of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae, while the dates of the Macedonian and Persian Empires are well known to us.

B. From the Fall of Jerusalem in 588—the end of the Jewish Monarchy—to the foundation of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon, 1011 B.C. This latter date is arrived at by adding together the years assigned to the reigns of the Judean kings in the Books of Kings.

C. From the foundation of the Temple, 1011, to the Exodus, 1491 B.C., this date is expressly stated, III. Kgs. vi. 1.

D. From the Exodus to the death of Joseph. It seems that a period of about 144 years should be allotted to this interval, but this will be clearer from a study of the following period.

E. From the death of Joseph to the birth of Abraham. Granting for the moment that Joseph died in B.C. 1635, cf. *infra*, we can work backwards as follows: Joseph lived 54 years after the death of Jacob, Gen. xli. 46, 52, xlv. 11, xlvii. 28, l. 25; Jacob lived 147 years, xlvii. 28; Isaac was 60 at Jacob's birth, xxv. 26; Abraham was 100 when Isaac was born, xxi. 5; thus 54+147+60+100=361 years from the death of Joseph to the birth of Abraham. Consequently, we can refer Abraham's birth to B.C. 1996.

A difficulty, however, remains for the date of the death of Joseph. For Gen. xv. 13-15, Exod. xii. 40, Judith v. 9, Acts vii. 6, all seem to say explicitly that the nation was in Egypt 400 (430) years—it might even seem to be implied that they were actually oppressed all that time; but St. Paul, Gal. iii. 17, and Acts xiii. 17-20 (according to the best reading), understands this period of 430 years as extending from the time the Promise was made to Abraham (Gen. xv.) to the bestowal of the Law on Mt. Sinai; in Acts he calls it 'as it were 450 years' because he includes the division of the Land among the tribes.

Further, from Abraham to Eleazar the son of Aaron we have seven generations, not four; hence the 'fourth generation' of Gen. xv. can only mean the 'fourth'

from the time they enter Egypt, not from the time the Promise is made. And we shall find that these two periods, viz., from the time the Promise is made to the going down into Egypt, and from this time to the Exodus, each cover about 200 years or 400 in all. Thus, if Levi, who lived to be 137, Exod. vi., 16, begot Caath when he was 37; if Caath, who was 133 when he died, Exod. vi. 18, begot Amram when 33; if Amram begot Aaron when 37—he lived to be 137, Exod. vi. 20—; and if Aaron was 83 at the Exodus, Nbs. xxxiii. 39, we should have the series 37+33+37+83=190 as covering—roughly speaking—the sojourn in Egypt. Similarly for the period from the Promise to the going down into Egypt: Jacob was 130 when he arrived there; Isaac was 60 when he begot Jacob; Ismael—born apparently a year or so after the Promise—was 14 years older than Isaac, Gen. xvi. 3, 16, xvii. 1, 17, 25; therefore Abraham was presumably 85 at the time of the Promise; thus this period will represent 130+60+15, or 205 years. If we now add to this the 190 years spent in Egypt, we shall have a total of 395 years for the period which elapsed between the Promise and the Exodus. It is interesting to note that the LXX. of Exod. xii. 40, reads: "And the abode of the children of Israel that they made in Egypt *and in Canaan* was 430 years;" the addition of the words "in Canaan" shows that the translators, or some glossator, were alive to the difficulty; the words "in Canaan" should of course be referred to the period preceding the sojourn in Egypt. The addition of 30 years is variously explained, it is thought by some to refer not to the time of the Promise but to Abraham's first sojourn in Egypt, Gen. xii. In order, now, to arrive at the date of Joseph's death, we must subtract 54 years from the period of 190 years which, as we have seen, roughly-speaking, represents the time of Israel's sojourn in Egypt; hence Joseph must have died about 1630 B.C., this will leave a period of some 140 years for the oppression of the Hebrews, i.e., about the space of four generations. This corresponds well with all the genealogies given in the Pentateuch, e.g., with that of Moses and Aaron, Ex. vi., and with that of the daughters of Salphaad, Nbs. xxvii. 1., where six gen-

erations separate them from Joseph, who, as we learn from Gen. l. 25, saw his own great grand-children.

F. From the death of Joseph to the death of Thare we have 288 years, which are thus obtained: Thare lived 205 years, Gen. xi. 32, Abraham was then 75 years old, xii. 4; he lived 100 years more, xxv. 7; Isaac survived Abraham 105 years, xxi. 5, xxxv. 28; Jacob survived Isaac 27 years, xxv. 26, xxxv. 28, and xlvii. 28; Joseph survives Jacob 54 years, xli. 46, 52, xlv. 11, l. 26. Thus for this period we have 100+105+27+54=286 years.

G. From the birth of Abraham to the Flood. This can be calculated by adding up the ages of the Semitic Patriarchs at the birth of their respective first-born sons. Working downwards we have:

From the Flood	to	the	birth	of	Arphaxad,	2	years.
„ Arphaxad	„	„	„		Sale	35	„
„ Sale	„	„	„		Heber	30	„
„ Heber	„	„	„		Phaleg	34	„
„ Phaleg	„	„	„		Reu	30	„
„ Reu	„	„	„		Sarug	32	„
„ Sarug	„	„	„		Nachor	30	„
„ Nachor	„	„	„		Thare	29	„
„ Thare	„	„	„		Abraham	130	„
					i.e.,	352	years.

In most schemes of chronology for this period we find the birth of Abraham assigned to Thare's 70th year as in Gen. xi. 26-27. But this is impossible for several reasons. In the first place, Thare lived to be 205, hence Isaac would have been born during his life-time. But Isaac was born in Palestine, and according to St. Stephen, Acts vii., 4, Abraham did not leave Haran till after Thare's death. Moreover, Abraham was 86 at the birth of Ismael, Gen. xvi. 16, and 100 when Isaac was born, and Ismael was not born till eleven years after their arrival in Canaan, Gen. xvi. 3, hence Abraham must have been only 75 when he left Haran at Thare's death as is stated in Gen. xii. 4. Hence we must reckon 352 years between the Flood and the birth of Abraham.

H. From the Flood to the Creation. The length of this period is obtained by adding together the ages

of the Sethite Patriarchs at the birth of their first-born down to Noe's age when the Flood came; the total thus obtained is 1656 years.

I. We have then the following data:—
From the Creation to the Flood—1656 years.
From the Flood to the death of Thare—427 years.
From the death of Thare to that of Joseph—286 years
From the death of Joseph to the Exodus—144 years.
in all—2513 A.M. or 1491 B.C. for the date of the Exodus.

This system is known as that of Archbishop Ussher; it is founded upon the existing Hebrew text. But difficulties arise with regard to each period.

Thus for the period between Adam and the Flood the LXX. gives 2242 years; this is due to the fact that the LXX. adds 100 years to the ages of six of the patriarchs at the date of the birth of their first-born sons. On the other hand the Samaritan Pentateuch only assigns 1307 years to this period. A similar phenomenon is observable for the second period, viz., that between the Flood and Thare's 70th year—it is easier to take this division and not that given above, i.e., Thare's death—because the history of the Patriarchs apparently closes here. In this period the LXX. gives 1072 and the Samaritan 942 years, instead of the 292 of the Hebrew text. This discrepancy is due to the addition of 100 years to the ages of six of the Patriarchs at the age of the birth of their first-born sons, and also, in LXX., to the insertion of an extra generation, i.e., that of Cainan. It is evident that we have here very different systems of chronology, it is not a question of mere textual variants, but of a systematic procedure; and we have no reason for supposing that the LXX. and Samaritan variants are due to any mere idiosyncrasies on the part of translators or copyists, these variants rather seem to indicate that they had a different Hebrew text before them.

For the third period, viz., that between the death of Thare and that of Joseph, there are practically no difficulties arising from the various texts, and for the first time we have extrinsic means of testing the Biblical chronology. But even here our sources of information are precarious. It is more probable that Joseph came into Egypt during the domination of the

so-called Hyksos—or Shepherd—kings. These are generally supposed to be represented by Manetho's Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties in Egypt and may have been contemporary with his Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties. According to Petrie they reigned from approximately B.C. 2098-1587. This is the most obscure period of Egyptian history, but the approximate dates, as far as they go, tend to confirm the Hebrew chronology given above by which the Exodus would fall about 1491 B.C.; the king who 'knew not Joseph,' Ex. i. 8, would presumably belong to the Dynasty which cast out the Hyksos, and consequently we should have the period of oppression beginning about the opening of the XVth. century B.C., thus allowing just about 100 years for this period. It is generally held that Ramses II. was the oppressor and his son Merenpthah the Pharaoh of the Exodus. There are strong arguments in favour of this view, but the commonly accepted—though only tentative—chronology which assigns Ramses II. to B.C. 1300-1234, would compel us to bring down the date of the Exodus to an inconveniently late date, viz., c. 1200 B.C. It seems impossible to condense into this brief period all the events of the Exodus, the wanderings, the occupation and division of the land, the period of the Judges, and the reigns of Saul and David, and we have seen above that, according to II. Kgs. vi. 1, 480 years elapsed between the Exodus and the fourth year of Solomon. It is not impossible that we ought to see in Thothmes III., 1503-1449, the Pharaoh of the oppression; Mahler claims to have fixed this date on astronomical calculations. It is certainly a striking fact that the famous Tell-el-Amarna Letters which date from the middle of the next century speak of people called the 'Khabiri' as being a source of danger in Palestine. Whether we are to see in these people the Hebrews who were already beginning to occupy the land is a disputed question; it should not be forgotten that in the famous 'Israel' stele of Merenpthah, discovered in 1894, we read: "Devastated is Libya, the Hittiteland is quieted; Kanaan is seized with every evil, led away is Ascalon; taken is Gezer. . . . the *people of Israel* is laid waste—their crops are not, Palestine has become a widow by

Egypt." Egyptologists dispute the inductions which such testimonies would seem to justify—but they cannot be disregarded. At the same time it is well to bear in mind that the Biblical Chronological system is in no sense a scientific one, that its details are often conflicting, that starting as it does from the beginning when there can have been no means of dating events—it is possibly only meant as a guide to the memory and not as a clue to history. On the other hand none of the dates assigned by scholars to the events of this early period can be regarded as more than approximate and should not be regarded as solid means of testing the Biblical statements. These latter, indeed, are as ancient as any other system of chronology which has been handed down to us.

THE FATHERS, ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS, AND BIBLICAL CRITICS—whether Catholic or Protestant—whose names and dates are of importance to the Biblical student.

The term *Ecclesiastical Writer* is generally applied to those early writers whose orthodoxy is questionable. The omission of the prefix *Saint*, St., will distinguish them. The letter L. signifies *Latin* Father, G. signifies *Greek* Father, D. signifies *Doctor* of the Church, P. signifies *Protestant*. As some writings are anonymous, and yet of great historical importance, we insert them in their chronological order.

(Abbreviations used: c. circa, d. died, fl. flourished).

1. St. Clement of Rome, d. c. 98. G
2. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* published about 90-100.
3. The *Epistle of St. Barnabas*, so-called, c. 96-100.
4. St. Ignatius of Antioch, d. 107. G
5. St. Polycarp, d. 155. G
6. Papias, fl. c. 150. G
7. Hermas, author of the ' Pastor ' c. 150. G
8. St. Justin, Martyr, d. 165. G
9. Tatian, c. 120-200. G
10. Theophilus of Antioch, fl. c. 180. G
11. Melito of Sardis, c. 200. G
12. *Acta* of the Scillitan Martyrs, c. 180 in Africa
13. Hegesippus, fl. c. 180. G
14. St. Irenæus, fl. c. 180. G

15. Pantenus, founder of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, c. 180. G
16. Clement of Alexandria, fl. c. 200. G
17. Origen, 184-254. G
18. Tertullian, c. 160-220. L
19. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, c. 210-270. G
20. St. Denis of Alexandria, c. 220-280. G
21. Epistle to Diognetus, c. 230
22. St. Hippolytus of Rome, d. 225. G
23. St. Cyprian, d. 258. L
24. Pamphilus of Cæsarea, d. 309. G
25. Lactantius, d. 320. L
26. St. Hilary of Poitiers, d. 366. L.D
27. St. Athanasius, d. 373. G.D
28. St. Ephraim, d. 373.
29. St. Basil, d. 379. G.D
30. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, d. 386. G
31. St. Gregory Nazianzen, d. 390. G.D
32. St. Gregory of Nyssa, d. 395. G
33. St. Ambrose, d. 397. L.D
34. St. Epiphanius, d. 403. G
35. St. John Chrysostom, d. 407. G.D
36. Rufinus, d. 410. L
37. St. Jerome, d. 420. L.D
38. Theodore of Mopsuestia, d. 428. G
39. St. Augustine, d. 430. L.D
40. St. Cyril of Alexandria, d. 444. G
41. Theodoret, d. 458. G
42. St. Leo the Great, d. 461. L.D
43. Procopius of Gaza, d. 524. G.
44. Cassiodorus, d. 562. L
45. St. Gregory the Great, d. 604. L.D
46. St. Isidore of Spain, d. 636. L
47. The Ven. Bede, d. 735. L.D
48. Alcuin, d. 804. L
49. Walafrid Strabo, d. 849. L
50. Rhabanus Maurus, d. 856. L
51. Remigius, d. 889. L
52. Oecumenius, d. c. 950. G
53. Theophylact, d. 1107. G
54. Hugo of St. Victor, d. 1141. L
55. St. Bernard, d. 1158. L.D
56. Peter Lombard, d. 1164. L
57. Richard of St. Victor, d. 1173. L

58. Hugo à St. Caro, O.P., d. 1260. L
59. St. Thomas Aquinas, O.P., d. 1274. L.D
60. St. Bonaventure, O.F.M., d. 1274. L
61. Bl. Albert the Great, O.P., d. 1280. L
62. Nicolas de Lyra, O.F.M., d. 1340. L
63. Ludolph of Saxony, d. 1335. L
64. Gerson, d. 1429.
65. Tostatus, d. 1455.
66. Denis the Carthusian, d. 1471.
67. Cardinal Cajetan, O.P., d. 1535.
68. Santes Pagninus, O.P., d. 1541.
69. Vatablus, d. 1547.
70. Sixtus Senensis, O.P., d. 1569.
71. Masius, d. 1573.
72. Jansenius Gandavensis, d. 1575.
73. Maldonatus, S.J., d. 1583
74. Salmeron, S.J., d. 1585.
75. Toletus, S.J., d. 1596.
76. John Hentenius, O.P., d. 1566.
77. Estius, d. 1613.
78. Luke of Bruges, O.F.M., d. 1614.
79. Bellarmine, S.J., d. 1621.
80. Sanctius, S.J., d. 1628.
81. Malvenda, O.P., d. 1628.
82. John Buxtorf, the elder, d. 1629. P
83. Tirinus, S.J., d. 1636.
84. Cornelius à Lapide, S.J., d. 1637
85. Grotius, d. 1645. P
86. Menochius, S.J., d. 1655.
87. Brian Walton, d. 1658. P
88. John Buxtorf, jun., d. 1664. P
89. John Lightfoot, d. 1675. P
90. Bossuet, d. 1704.
91. Richard Simon, d. 1712.
92. Bernard Lamy, d. 1715.
93. Huetius, d. 1721.
94. Natalis Alexander, O.P., d. 1722.
95. Montfaucon, O.S.B., d. 1741.
96. Sabatier, O.S.B., d. 1742.
97. Assemani, J.S., d. 1768.
98. Assemani, S.E., d. 1782.
99. Houbigant, d. 1784.
100. Michælis, J., d. 1791. P
101. Jahn, d. 1816.

102. Rossi, J.B., d. 1831.
103. Gesenius, d. 1842. P
104. Havernick, d. 1842. P
105. Baur, C., d. 1860. P
106. Wiseman, Nicholas, Card., d. 1864.
107. Hupfeld, d. 1866. P
108. Vercellone, d. 1868.
109. Henstenberg, d. 1869. P.
110. Glaire, d. 1872.
111. Strauss, d. 1875. P
112. Ewald, d. 1875. P
113. Stanley, d. 1875. P
114. Beelen, d. 1882.
115. Lightfoot, d. 1889. P
116. Newman, John Henry, Card., d. 1890.
117. Hort, d. 1892. P
118. Westcott, d. 1901. P

A LITERARY TABLE. One of the most important results of the archæological discoveries of recent years has been the conviction that the Bible, considered as a literary product, does not stand alone. We have hitherto been too much accustomed to regard the Bible as standing in a splendid isolation, as absolutely unique, as allowing of no comparison with other writings, and—in the minds of many at least—as being 'the Oldest Book in the world.' It is, of course, true that the Bible does stand apart—for it is the only inspired Book. But the fact that it is inspired does not make the Bible any less a human book. As we explain, when speaking of inspiration, the Bible is a human and a divine book, and in judging it we cannot neglect either of these two aspects. Both are always present Yet none the less the writers were men, and men of their own time and nationality. Hence, in estimating their writings we must endeavour to get the writers in their true focus; in other words we must attempt to grasp the relation in which they stood to writers who had gone before them. It would perhaps be impossible to exaggerate the amount of intercourse which took place between the different countries of the East—even at the most remote periods; and it would be absurd to suppose that ideas which were current in Egypt, for instance, were not familiar at the same time in Pales-

tine. No stronger proof of this could be brought forward than the existence of the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence.

It would be impossible here to present a list of all the Egyptian and Semitic literature which has come down to us, but the following table will give the student some idea of the literary products of each century. It will be noticed that it is of the most varied kind. Thus we have Historical Annals and Historical Romances; we have fiction and we have solid moral teaching. In a word, every type of literature is to be found in the monuments of antiquity. And here we must note that the Ancients did not write history as we do. Scientific accuracy was a thing unknown to them. The Annals of the kings of Egypt and Assyria are little more than a series of self-laudatory statements. And when we are fortunate enough to discover accounts of the same facts by two opposing parties, we shall see at once how much we have to accept the statements of either of them with the proverbial grain of salt. Compare, for example, the Epic Poem of Pentaur, in which he narrates the heroic doings of Ramses II. against the Hittites, with the sober record of the Treaty finally ratified between the same foes. The latter document shows that the ' vile Kheta ' were by no means so routed as Pentaur would have us believe, they treat with Ramses on terms of equality. And comparisons of this kind will make the supereminence of the Bible apparent. Nowhere in the Records of antiquity do we find such self-condemnatory statements as in the inspired pages. We never find in the Bible a claim to victories which only existed in the fervid imaginations of court poets.

In the accompanying list we have inserted the Biblical books, but it will be apparent that the dates there assigned to them refer not so much to the time of their actual composition as to that of the subjects or persons of whom they treat. We depart from our usual rule of giving no references, for the student may be glad to know where he can find most of the documents here mentioned; the letters R.P. refer to the *Records of the Past* edited by Prof. Sayce, the addition N.S. refers to the six additional volumes, or New Series of the same ' **Records.**'

LITERARY TABLE.

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
4000-3500 B.C.	c. 3900	**Precepts of Kaqema,** an official of the Third Dynasty in Egypt.
	c. 3566	**Book of the Opening of the Mouth.** A ceremonial religious work in use in Egypt from the time of the Vth Dyn. to the First Century of our era. A copy was found in the Vth Dyn. Pyramid at Sakhara.
3500-3000 B.C.		The Heliopolitan recension of the **Book of the Dead**. The Theban recension of the same work is referred, in documents of the XVIIIth Dyn., to the time of King Semti of the Ist Dyn. and also to Mycerinus of the IVth Dyn.
	c. 3360	The **Precepts of Ptah-hetep,** a book of Moral Teachings by an official of the VIth Dyn.
	c. 3330	The **Inscription of Una,** 'Crown-bearer' of King Teta, first king of the VIth Dyn. This is one of the very oldest of historical documents and full of interest. Una describes himself as 'wearing out his sandals in going along the road on the king's business.' See R.P. ii.
		To this early period may be attributed at least the originals of the large collection of *Accadian* documents which are furnished with an interlinear Assyrian translation. We may mention :
		An **Ancient Babylonian Legend of the Creation.** R.P. xi.
		A **Non-Semitic Account of the Creation.** R.P.N.S. vi.
		A **Legend of the Destruction of Two Cities by Fire from Heaven;** it forcibly recalls the Story of Sodom and Gomorrha. R.P. xi.
		A **Chaldean Hymn to the Sun.** R.P. xi.
		An **Accadian Penitential Psalm.** R.P. vii.

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
3500-3000 B.C.	c. 3330	An **Accadian Hymn to Istar.** R.P.N.S. v.
		An **Accadian Poem on the Seven Evil Spirits.** R.P. ix.
3000-2500 B.C.		To this period we may refer a series of inscriptions from Telloh in S. Babylonia. They refer to such kings as **Ur-Nina, Uru-Kagina, Entena, En-anna-Tumma,** and **Ur-Bau,** whose dates are not certain. R.P. N.S. i. and ii.
	c. 2600	The account of **Sin-gashid's** foundation of E-ana, a Temple in Erech. R.P.N.S. i.
		We may conveniently place here also the Tablets of the **Gilgamesh** Series. Gilgamesh was a mythical hero to whom the Babylonian Noah related the story of the Deluge and of the Ark which he built. Our copies of these Tablets are late.
2500-2000 B.C.	c. 2500	A long inscription of **Gudea,** king of Lagash, on occasion of the erection of the Temple of Ningursu.
	c. 2300	The **Code of Hammurabi,** *q.v.*
		The **Adventures of Sinuhit,** an historical Romance of one Sinuhit who fled for political reasons from Egypt to Edom in the days of the XIIth Dyn. R.P.N.S. ii.
		The **Instructions of Amenemhat I.** to his son Usertsen I., of the XIIth Dyn. A papyrus. R.P. ii.
	c. 2115-2090	An **Inscription of Ammi-satana,** a king of Babylon, whose rule extended to Phœnicia. A very important historical text though short and mutilated.
1600-1500 B.C.	c. 1560	An **Inscription of Hatshep-su,** mother of Thothmes III, recounting the conquest of Arabia Felix. R.P. x.
1500-1400 B.C.	c. 1503-1449	**Annals of Thothmes III.** These are very extensive. cf. R.P. ii. and iv. also N.S. v.
		The **Tell-el-Amarna Correspondence** between the Pharaohs Amenophis III. and IV. and their allies the kings of N. Babylonia, also with their vicegerents in Syria and Palestine. cf. R.P.N.S. ii, iii, v, vi.

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
1500-1400 B.C.	c. 1503-1449	The **Tale of the Doomed Prince,** four pages of the Harris Papyrus, a curious Romance attributed to the period of the XVIIIth Dyn. R.P. ii.
		Hymn to Osiris, assigned to the time of Thothmes III, XVIIIth Dyn. R.P. iv. and N.S. iv.
		The composition of the **Pentateuch** is to be assigned to this century.
1400-1200 B.C.	c. 1350	**Ramses II.** A poetical account of his war with the Hittites, and of the Battle of Kadesh on Orontes, has been given us by the court-poet, Pentaur. It forms part of the Sallier Papyrus and exists in several recensions. His subsequent **Treaty of Peace** with the Hittites is engraved on the walls of the temple at Karnak. R.P. iv.
		The **Tale of Setnau.** A mythical Romance referred to the time of Ramses II, but probably much later. R.P. iv.
	c. 1325	Inscription of **Ramman-nirari I.** from the palace of Kalah-Shergat, the ancient Asshur. R.P. xi.
		Hymn to Amen-Ra, of the XIXth Dyn. R.P. ii.
		The **Tale of the Two Brothers.** This Papyrus was in the possession of Seti I. of the XIXth Dyn. Its author was one Enna. R.P. ii.
		An account of the **Invasion of Egypt** by the Libyans, the Achæans and Sardinians, in the time of **Menephtah,** son of Ramses II. The first historical mention of the Greeks. R.P. iv.
		The **Stele of Menephtah,** it describes his conquest of the invaders and mentions the Israelites: "The Israelites are ruined, their crops are destroyed." The importance of this inscription for the date of the Exodus is apparent. cf. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 130.
		The **Book of Josue** belongs to this period.

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
1400-1200 B.C.	1200	**Historical Inscription of Ramses III.** His repulse of the Libyans, Sardinians, etc., who had invaded Egypt.
		The Books of **Judges** and **Ruth** belong to this period.
1200-1000 B.C.	c. 1100	**Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.** An inscription of great interest since it was the one of which copies were set before four representative Assyriologists at the outset of the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions. The practical agreement of the four translators in their independent renderings was a striking proof of the value of their methods.
1000-900 B.C.	c. 950	Inscription of **Shishanq I.**, who invaded Palestine in the days of Roboam. He has left engraved on the wall of the Temple at Karnak the results of this expedition.
		To this period also belongs the **Story of the Possessed Princess**; it is disputed whether it is history or fiction. R.P. iv. N.S. iii.
		I-II. Samuel, the Books of **Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles,** belong to this period.
900-800 B.C.	885-860	Annals of **Assur-nasir-pal.** R.P. iii. N.S. ii.
	c. 890	The **Moabite Stone,** or Record of the war between Mesha, king of Moab, and the House of Achab. R.P. xi. N.S. ii. In the Moabitic dialect of Canaanite.
	825-812	Inscription of **Shamshi-Ramman II,** from an obelisk found in Nimroud, the ancient Calah. R.P. i.
	893-666	The Assyrian **Eponym Canon.**
	860-825	**Shalmaneser II.** The most important inscription ever found, from the Biblical standpoint, was the **Black Obelisk** of this king, for on it we read the name of **Jehu.** Our information is supplemented by the so-called **Khurk monolith** and the inscription on the **Gates of Balawat.** R.P. iii. N.S. iv. v.

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
800-700 B.C.	c. 780-745	Four Inscriptions from **Zenjirli** near Aleppo. They belong to the kings of Samal, and the two latter mention Tiglath-Pileser III. They are in **Aramaic**.
	c. 726-698	The **Siloam Inscription** of the time of Ezechias.
	722-705	Inscriptions of **Sargon II.** of Assyria. His **Annals** are given at great length on the walls of his palace at Khorsabad, R.P. vii., ix. In the 'Bull' Inscription of Khorsabad we have an account of the foundation of the city ; we also have the actual foundation-tablets which the king placed at the foot of the walls. R.P. xi.
	812-783	**Rammam-nirari III.** An inscription giving his genealogy. R.P.N.S. iv.
	745-728	**Tiglath-Pileser III.** An inscription of 86 lines covering the 17 years of his reign, from Nimroud. R.P.N.S. v.
		The **Baal-Lebanon** inscription graved on fragments of bronze bowls ; it is attributed to this period by some, but others regard it as much earlier. It is in **Phœnician** characters.
		The Books of **Isaias, Amos, Joel, Jonas,** and **Osee** are to be referred to this period.
700-600 B.C.	705-681	**Sennacherib.** In the famous 'Taylor' cylinder he has left an account of his expedition against Ezechias, R.P. i. and N.S. vi. Also in the Nebi-Yunus inscription, R.P. xi. In the Bavian inscription we learn the date of Tiglath-Pileser I. In the 'Bellino' inscription we have an account of his wars with Merodach-Baladan.
	681-668	**Esarhaddon.** An inscription narrating the events which led to his taking possession of his father's throne. His **Annals** are given on a cylinder found at Nebi Yunus.

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
700-600 B.C.	668-626	**Assur-bani-pal.** His **Annals** are given at great length in cylinders A and B in the British Museum. He mentions such familiar names as those of Tirhaka and Necho, and gives a long account of his conquest of Elam. R.P. i. and ix. On a clay tablet we have a most remarkable **prayer** of this bloodthirsty king for the forgiveness of his sins. R.P.N.S. vi. To this period probably belongs the **Assyrian Story of the Creation,** very different from the earlier **Accadian** accounts, R.P.N.S. i. Here also we must place the **Synchronous History of Babylonia and Assyria,** a document which is constructed on the same lines as the history of Juda and Israel in III-IV. Kgs. It is presented from the Assyrian standpoint and is thus unfavourable to the Babylonians. R.P. iii. N.S. iv. The Prophecies of **Nahum** and **Abdias** are to be referred to this period.
600-500 B.C.	605-562	**Nebuchadnezzar II.** has left us several inscriptions all concerned with his building and restoring of temples, either at Senkereh, R.P. vii, or at Birs-Nimroud, the ancient Borsippa, R.P. vii and N.S. v., the latter is known as the 'India-House' Inscription.
	559-550	**Neriglissar,** the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar II. He has left us a cylinder on which he recounts how he repaired the temples of Babylon. R.P. v.
	555-538	**Nabonidus,** apparently an usurper, has left us the most valuable series of tablets and cylinders which show that he was an archaeologist. To him we are indebted for precious chronological details. (a) His **Annals** recording the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. (b) A cylinder with a prayer of Nabonidus for his son **Belshazzar.**

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
600-500 B.C.	555-538	(c) A cylinder in which he assigns dates to **Burnaburiash,** c. 1425 ; to **Hammurabi,** c. 2200.
		(d) The most important cylinder of all, in it he gives an account of the overthrow of the **Scythians** by **Cyrus,** king of Anzan ; tells how, when restoring the temple of the Sun at Sippar, he found the foundation-tablets of **Naram-Sin,** which had not been seen for 3200 years. This enables us to date Naram-Sin and his father **Sargon I.** about 3750 and 3800 respectively.
	538-521	**Cyrus the Great.** In a cylinder he has left us an account of his capture of Babylon ; also of his subsequent restoration to their own countries of the images of the various local deities which Nabonidus had gathered in Babylon.
		The Prophecies of **Jeremias, Sophonias, Habacuc, Baruch, Ezechiel, Aggeus,** and **Zacharias,** belong to this period. Also **III-IV. Kgs.,** the **Lamentations** of Jeremias and the Book of **Tobias**.
500-400 B.C.	521-484	**Darius the Great** (Hystaspes). The great inscription of **Behistun,** written in Persian, Elamitic and Babylonian, and describing his conquest of ten kings, is famous as being the classical inscription the decipherment of which by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837-1847, led to our present knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions.
		The **Assouan Papyri** belong to this century.
		To this period should be referred the Books of **Esdras** and **Nehemias, I-II. Paralipomena, Esther** and **Judith,** and the Prophecy of **Malachi.**
400-300 B.C.		**Tabnith,** and **Eshmunazar** his son, kings of Sidon, have left us on their sarcophagi **Phœnician** inscriptions forbidding any one to touch their tombs.

Period.	Approximate Date, if known.	Document.
300-200 B.C.	246-222	**Ptolemy III.**, Euergetes. In 237 the priests voted him special honours. The decree to this effect, made at **Canopus**, was set up in many towns of Egypt. It is in the Hieratic script, in Greek Uncials, and in the Demotic script. The Books of **Ecclesiasticus**, in Hebrew, and of **Wisdom**, in Greek, belong to this period.
200-100 B.C.	196	**Ptolemy V.** In his ninth year the priests passed in his favour a decree similar to the Canopic Decree. It was written in Hieroglyphic, Demotic, and in Greek Uncials, and was set up in several cities. The most famous and complete copy is that known as the **Rosetta Stone** from the place where it was discovered in 1798. From it **Young** and **Champollion** were enabled to decipher the Hieroglyphic script. To this period belong **I-II. Maccabees**.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI. In Gen. xiv. mention is made of a king of Sennaar by name 'Amraphel.' The Babylonian monuments had long made us familiar with a very powerful and influential king by name Hammurabi, and it is now practically certain that he is to be identified with the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. Numbers of letters of Hammurabi have come down to us, and it was well-known to Assyriologists that he was the author—or more strictly speaking—the codifier of a number of laws. In Jan. 1902, M. de Morgan discovered at Susa, in ancient Persia, the actual Code of some 282 laws set up by Hammurabi, and in the following October a translation of them was furnished by his collaborator, Father Scheil, O.P. The Code was graved on a block of diorite about eight feet high. On the obverse was a figure of the king receiving his laws from the Sun-God Shamash. Beneath followed 16 columns of writing of which about 700 lines were

devoted to an account of the titles, glories, and beneficences of Hammurabi. The remaining lines contained portion of his Code, but five columns had been erased by the Elamite conqueror who had presumably intended to grave in their place his own name and titles after he had carried away the Code from its original place in Esagila, the temple of Merodach in Babylon. On the reverse we have 28 columns of the Code, thus making in all 3614 lines which have been preserved to us. The importance of this Code is incalculable. As already said, Hammurabi did not originate these laws, rather he codified an already existing series of well-known laws. And just as the Tell-el-Amarna tablets have shown us the extent to which the difficult Babylonian language had permeated the whole of the East, so the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments show us how these same laws of Hammurabi were spread all over the Semitic-speaking countries. Their reflection is to be seen in the Mosaic Laws, the parallels between which and the code are striking. We need not specify them here since the student can easily study them for himself in the very cheap edition published by Johns in 1903, and often since: *The Oldest Code of Laws.*

THE TELL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS. These important sources of our knowledge of the political state of the Semitic and Egyptian world in the XVth. century B.C., were discovered in 1887 at Tell-el-Amarna, a mound of ruins about 180 miles south of Memphis on the east bank of the Nile. The tablets discovered numbered about 320, and a large number of them found their way to the British Museum, the remainder being either sent to the Museum at Berlin or kept in private collections. They are of clay, but the clay differs according to the locality in which the letter was written, thus we have Babylonian and Syrian as well as Egyptian clay. These tablets contain the correspondence which passed between the kings of Mitanni, Karduniash, and Alashia in Mesopotamia, and the Pharaohs Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. (Khu-en-Aten), in Egypt. But of even greater importance is the series of letters from the Governors of various towns in Syria to the above-mentioned Pharaohs relative to the state of

political affairs in the districts committed to them. Thus we have letters from Gezer, Byblos, Beyrout, Tyre, Joppa, Gaza, Acco, Ascalon, &c. The marvellous thing about these letters is that they are all written in Babylonian cuneiform script, that is, in a modified form of the cursive script which had been in use in Babylonia for already many centuries. This startling fact shows how all-pervading was the literary influence of Babylonia. At the same time these tablets indicate a vast amount of intercourse, diplomatic and commercial, between all the countries of the east; alliances, offensive and defensive, marriages-treaties, religious ceremonies, commercial customs, and, above all, political intrigues, find their place in these long-buried records.

The state of affairs here portrayed may be briefly described as follows: Amenophis IV. (Khu-en-Aten) had endeavoured to replace the religion of his fathers by the worship of the Sun's disc. For this purpose he had established himself at Tell-el-Amarna so as to be far away from the influence of the Theban priesthood who were all-powerful. The religious disputes in which he consequently found himself involved, prevented him from paying sufficient attention to the affairs of his vassals in Syria; and the Egyptian power in Syria and hither Asia became in consequence much weakened, until in spite of the protests of the said vassals—protests which are faithfully recorded in the correspondence—a faction opposed to Egypt seized on all the important cities and upon the trade and commerce of Syria.

The most dramatic event in the decipherment of these letters was the discovery at Tell-el-Hesy—the site of the Biblical Lachish—of one of the series, it was an answer to one sent from Lachish.

THE MOABITE STONE. This most precious inscription was discovered at Diban in the Land of Moab in the year 1868. During the negotiations pending its removal, the Arabs broke it up by heating it and then throwing water on it. Fortunately, a 'squeeze' of the whole had been taken previously, and we now have the inscription tolerably complete. It is written in old Hebrew characters and in a dialect of Canaanite which differs hardly at all from Hebrew. Its author was the

Mesha king of Moab, who is mentioned in IV. Kgs. iii. On this stone he has left a record of his success in throwing off the yoke of the Israelites.

1. I am Mesha, son of Kemosh . . king of Moab, the
2. Dibonite. My father was king over Moab thirty years, and I became
3. king after my father. And I made this high-place for Kemosh in Qorqah, with sal-
4. vation, because he saved me from all the and because he made me see my desire upon all them that hated me.
5. Omri king of Israel, he afflicted Moab many days, because Kemosh was angry with his
6. land. And his son succeeded him: and he, too, said . . . I will afflict Moab. In my days he said
7. . . . And I saw my desire upon him and upon his house, and Israel perished for ever, utterly, and Omri took possession of the
8. land of Medeba; and he dwelt in it, his days and half his sons' days, forty years; but Kemosh res-
9. tored it in my days. And I built Baal-meon, and I made therein a reservoir (?); and I built
10. Qiryathan. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of Ataroth from of old; and the king of
11. Israel built Ataroth for himself. And I fought against the city and took it. And I slew all the people . . .
12. the city, a gazing-stock unto Kemosh and unto Moab. And I brought thence the altar-hearth of Daudoh (?), and I drag-
13. ged it before Kemosh in Qeriyyoth. And I caused the men of Saron (?) to dwell therein, and the men
14. of MHRTH. And Kemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. And I
15. went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn till the noontide, and I
16. took it and slew all, seven thousand men and . . . and women . . . and damsels, for I had devoted it to Ashtar-Kemosh. And I took thence the . .
17. . of Jahveh, and I dragged them before Kemosh. And the king of Israel had built
Yahas, and dwelt therein while he fought against me. But Kemosh drove him out before me.

18. I took of Moab two hundred men, all the chiefs thereof; and I led them against Yahas, and took it,
19. to add it to Diban. I built Qorqah, the wall of Ye-arim, and the wall
20. of the mound; and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof; and I
21. built the king's house; and I made the sluices (?) of the reservoir(?) for water in the midst
22. of the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in Qorqah; and I said to all the people, make you
23. each a cistern in his house. And I cut the cutting for Qorqah with the help of prisoners
24. of Israel. I built Aroer, and I made the highway by the Arnon.
25. I built Beth-bamoth, for it was overthrown. I built Beser, for it was in ruins. . .
26. . . of Diban were fifty, for all Diban was obedient. And I became king
27. a hundred, in the cities which I added to the land.
28. And I built
29. . . . Medeba and Beth-diblathaim. And as for (?) Beth-baal-meon, I led there the . . .
30. sheep of the land. And as for Hauronan, there dwelt therein . . . and
31. Kemosh said to me, Go down, fight against Hauronan; and I went down
32. Kemosh in my days, and . . . from there
33. and I . . .

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION. This inscription was discovered in 1880 in the tunnel which connects the Virgin's fountain with the Pool of Siloam. It is in old Hebrew characters and is almost undoubtedly to be referred to the time of Ezechias, cf. II. Paral. xxxii. 2-4, 30; IV. Kgs. xx. 20, and Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 19.

It runs as follows:—

1. . . . the boring through! And this was the manner of the boring through: whilst yet

2. the pick, each towards his fellow, and whilst there were yet three cubits to be bored (through, there was heard) the voice of each cal-
3. ling to his fellow, for there was a split in the rock on the right hand And on the day of the
4. boring through the miners struck, each to meet his fellow, pick upon pick; and
5. the waters flowed from the source to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits; and a hun-
6. dred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the miners.

It will be seen that the inscription refers to the actual boring of the tunnel and tells us that the workers, starting at opposite ends, failed, through some miscalculation, to meet. Their mistake, however, was soon rectified, and the flow of the water is triumphantly recorded.

THE ASSOUAN PAPYRI. These most important papyri were discovered at Assouan on the site of the ancient Syene in the island of Elephantine in the Nile. The first discoveries were made in the year 1901, but it was not till 1904 that the bulk of the papyri were found. Even now there is some uncertainty regarding the precise spot where these latter were found, but the workmen state that they found them in a wooden box when making a road at the south end of Assouan on the site of the ancient Syene, Ezech. xxix. 10, xxx. 6. The important point, however, is that they were found intact with the strings uncut and with the dockets, usual in the case of legal documents, still attached to them.

There are eleven papyri in all, and their interest lies in this that they present us with a singularly vivid picture of the lives and legal affairs of a Jewish settlement of the fifth century B.C.; they are carefully dated, the precise period covered being 471-411 B.C. We have a mixture of Jewish, Persian, Babylonian and Egyptian names. The Jewish names are of peculiar interest, for they are exactly the same as the Exilic and post-Exilic names with which we are familiar from the Bible, e.g., Hosea, Zechariah, Nathan, Azariah, Menahem, and Qoniyah. But perhaps the most interesting fact to which they testify is the existence of a

Temple of Jahve in Elephantine; the bearing of this on the Deuteronomic law of Unity of Sanctuary should be noted. Moreover, in the legal portions we find the Jews swearing by the Name of Jahve just as the Egyptians do by the name of their God, Sati—clearly, then, there was no intolerance on the part of the Egyptians. Neither does there seem to have been a too rigid exclusiveness on the part of the Jews, for we find one of them married to an Egyptian, though he seems to have become a proselyte later. It is worth while noting also that the Jews seem to have had no hesitation in using the Ineffable Name of Jahve.

It is interesting to compare these Jews with those who forcibly carried Jeremias down into Egypt with them after the destruction of Jerusalem; these latter were idolators, Jer. xlii-xliv., but the Jews of Elephantine a century later are devout worshippers of Jahve.

The papyri are written in Aramaic, and thus have a very high linguistic interest.

CHAPTER II

INSPIRATION. The Church has repeatedly declared that the whole Bible is inspired; but while the *fact* of inspiration is thus declared, its precise *nature* has never been the object of a definition. We may, however, formulate a definition in these terms: *Inspiration is a supernatural impulse to write—an impulse, too, which is maintained while the writing is continued; by reason of this motion, and with the assistance of a divine illumination, the Sacred Writer writes all those things, and only those things, which God bids him write.*

It will be noticed that there are two things in this definition, a divine motion and a divine illumination.

The analysis which justifies the above definition is somewhat as follows:—

St. Thomas distinguishes graces according as they are destined for the salvation of the recipient or for the salvation of others than the recipient. These latter he terms the *Gratiæ gratis datæ*, and these, again, he distinguishes according to the different purposes for which they are bestowed. If they are bestowed in order that a man may prove the truth of his doctrine by performing wonders this grace is called the grace of miracles; if however he is gifted with supernatural knowledge, this grace is called that of prophecy. Now knowledge does not consist in the mere acquisition of material but more especially in the judgement we form regarding that material. Thus sometimes it is one man who has the material, but another who has the acumen to appreciate it at its true worth. The 'grace' of Prophecy is concerned with supernatural knowledge only, and since knowledge consists both in the acquisition of material and in the judgement passed

upon it, it is evident that (a) both these—the acquisition and the judgement—can be from God, i.e., be supernatural; or (b) the acquisition can be supernatural while the judgement is natural, or (c) vice-versa, the acquisition can be natural and the judgement upon it supernatural. We have an example of the first case in the Prophets, strictly so-called, who received visions from God and were also instructed by Him as to their meaning, cf. Jer. i.; we have an example of the second in Pharaoh, Nebuchodonosor, and Caiaphas, who all received in different ways communications from God, but who none of them received divine illumination as to their significance; and we have an instance of the third class in Joseph who received from Pharaoh, not from God, an account of the former's dream, but received from God an illumination of his judgement as to its precise signification.

We are thus enabled to distinguish three clear degrees in the divine communications: the mere material for judgement may be communicated, as to Pharaoh and Caiaphas, this is the lowest degree and may be termed *Prophetic instinct.* We have the highest degree when the same man receives from God both the material and the illumination of judgement requisite for realising its divine import. Such men are Prophets and they receive *Revelation.* The intermediate degree is present when the material is only bestowed through the ordinary human channels but the illumination of judgement comes from God. This is *Inspiration.* Thus we have a fundamental distinction of the highest value, that namely between Inspiration and Revelation; the latter is wholly divine, the former has in it a human element as well as a divine.

But Biblical Inspiration goes a step further. There is clearly a great difference between Joseph, for instance, divinely illumined to pass a judgement on Pharaoh's dream, and Moses divinely illumined regarding the truth of the facts he narrates and also divinely moved to commit those same facts to writing.

In order, then, to arrive at a clear notion as to what is meant by inspiration, we have to ask in what precisely consist this illumination and this motion. What, again, is required in order that a writing may be regarded as divinely inspired?

Is it sufficient that any particular writing should have been declared by the Church to be free from error? The Vatican Council decides in the negative.

Is it that God *dictates* the writing? Is it that God *revealed* the ideas to the writer and left him to express them in his own words? If we were to endorse the latter explanation we should have to allow that every inspired writer was the recipient of a revelation, whereas we have seen that there is all the difference in the world between inspiration and revelation. But before we answer these two questions let us examine the decrees of the three Councils of Florence, Trent, and the Vatican.

In declaring the doctrine of Inspiration, these Councils make use of a definite formula which must necessarily lie at the base of any investigation into the nature of Inspiration. Thus in the Decree of Union promulgated by the Council of Florence, we read:—

> "The Holy Roman Catholic Church . . . confesses the same God as the *Author* of the Old and the New Testaments . . . since by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit the holy men of both Testaments have spoken."

The same formula occurs in the Tridentine Decree; the Church declares that She receives

> "all the Books of both Testaments, the Old and the New, since the One God is the *Author* of both."

The Vatican Council speaks still more explicitly:—

> "The Church holds these Books as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by Her authority; not merely because they contain Revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their *Author*."

We notice at once that in all three Councils the Books are said to have God as their Author because they are inspired; hence to arrive at a clear idea of inspiration we must realise clearly what is meant by 'authorship.' Further, though God is here spoken of as the 'Author,' the Sacred Writers too are always spoken of as 'authors.' Consequently the essentials of 'authorship' must be safeguarded both for God and for the individual Sacred Writers. But how can two be the authors of one and the same work?

Joint-authorship, such as that with which we are familiar in the case of Besant and Rice, for example, will not satisfy the conditions; for Besant was in no sense the author of the portions which Rice wrote. Thus if we wish to safeguard the full title of 'author' to both God and the individual Sacred Writers we must not conceive of the latter as merely co-operating with God, we must not picture God and the Sacred Writers as working simply harmoniously together, for thus we should still have portions which were due to the human authors, while neither God nor the human writers could be said to be the 'authors' of the resulting whole. But there is in nature one case in which two causes so co-operate that the resulting work is attributable wholly to each of the two causes, when, namely, one is the instrumental, the other the principal, cause.

For when two causes combine to produce an effect, the one as applying, the other as applied, the one as moving, the other as moved, the one as planning and designing, the other as executing and carrying into effect—there is a mutual dependence between them. But, be it noted, it is not that each contributes its share, there is not in the effect produced anything which belongs to the one cause and not to the other; the whole is due to each cause, but in different senses. It is due to the principal cause as designing and applying, to the instrumental cause as carrying out the design and as applied by the principal cause for that purpose. This will be clear from a familiar example. When we write with a pen and ink we have a whole series of causes and effects each subordinated to the other. The brain moves the hand, the hand the pen, the pen adjusts the flow of ink, the ink marks the paper, the ultimate effect—intended by the brain from the outset—is the intelligible writing on the paper.

But, if we consider further, there is nothing in that writing which is not due to the pen. Neither is there anything in it which is not due to the brain from which, in some mysterious way, there has flowed a power transmitted by the arm, the hand, the pen, and the ink—to the paper. Further, the more complete the harmony between the various agents here employed —the more completely will the writing express what the brain directed. And if we were skilful in making

pens we could fashion them so delicately as to produce with their aid the most delicate specimens of handwriting. Now instead of the brain put Almighty God, and instead of the pen put one of the Sacred Writers, St. Luke for example. He is no chance pen, picked up—so to speak. On the contrary, he is a perfectly prepared instrument, prepared from eternity by God for the particular work for which He destined him, namely the writing of the Third Gospel. But when the fitting time comes God moves him to write, and at the same time, illumines his intellect so that he writes under the influence of a divine light directing, stimulating, and, if need be, correcting, his judgement as he shapes his materials, so that he only commits to writing what God wills and all that God wills.

And there is nothing automatic about this—it is here that the analogy of the pen fails; for St. Luke is still Luke 'the beloved physician,' he is still the polished Greek, the friend, the fellow-traveller, the fellow-prisoner of St. Paul. He has to work for his information. He may not, probably did not have, the remotest idea that God was inspiring him. He may receive no revelation whatsoever, i.e., his materials may be all acquired by purely human means, and it is only his judgement which requires illumination. The difference between him and the pen is that Luke is free to pick and choose, though divinely guided all the time. The similarity between him and the pen is that just as we choose a pen precisely because it is fine or thick, so God has chosen Luke because he has just the qualities which fit him to write the Gospel. The difference between the brain, in the analogy, and God, in the actuality, is that the brain could not prepare its instruments—while God chooses an instrument just because He has perfectly prepared it.

But what right have we to say that the relation between God and the inspired writer is precisely that of principal cause to instrumental cause? First of all because, as the above argument will have shown us, only thus can we explain that character of 'author' which must be safeguarded in its entirety to both God and the individual writer. And secondly, because in the Encyclical *Providentissimus* we see that Leo XIII.

has used this very expression to designate the relationship of the Inspirer and the inspired, "the Holy Ghost employed these men as His *instruments*."

But this explanation, if rightly apprehended, will show us how impossible it is to regard the Sacred Scriptures as *dictated* by God. He alone would be the author in that case, and even then He would not be the author of the mechanical act of writing. It will also appear how futile it is to suppose that the ideas are God's while the way of expressing them is left to the human author; for then neither God nor the writer could be regarded as the author of the whole.

The following scheme will perhaps make clear the doctrine given above.

GRATIÆ GRATIS DATÆ.

(i.e., those graces bestowed for the good of others than the recipient)

- Divinely-bestowed *powers of working*, or the gift of *Miracles*.
- Divinely-bestowed *knowledge*, or the Gift of *Prophecy*. (all knowledge demands acquisition of material and judgement).
 - If the acquisition alone is from God we have *Prophecy improperly so-called*; e.g., Pharaoh, Caiaphas and Nebuchodonosor. This is called by St. Thomas 'Prophetic Instinct.'
 - If the Judgement alone is from God we have *Inspiration;* e.g., Joseph and Daniel. This is described by St. Thomas as 'an uplifting of the mind.'
 - If both the acquisition and the Judgement are from God we have *Revelation;* e.g., Isaias vii. 14. This is described by St. Thomas as 'the perception of Divine things.'

THE CANON OF THE BIBLE. The word 'canon,' *Kanon,* means 'a rule' or 'measure,' see St. Paul's use of it Gal. vi. 16, &c. Thus Apostolic truth and doctrine is opposed by the Fathers to heretical tenets as being the *canon traditionis* or 'measure of tradition.' Hence the term came to be applied to those Books which contained sound doctrine and which were thus regarded as the test or 'measure' of such doctrine. By the time of Eusebius the term 'canon' had come to mean the *list* of recognised Books, thus *H.E.* III. 3, he says that a certain Epistle is not 'found in the Canon.'

THE FORMATION OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Any one who compares a Protestant Bible with a Catholic one will find that the latter has seven more Books in the O.T. than the former, viz., Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobias, Judith, Baruch, and the two Books of Maccabees; further he will find that certain portions of Esther and of Daniel are omitted in the Protestant Bible. It is true that in most Protestant Bibles these Books and portions of Books are found at the end under the heading 'Apocrypha,' but they are not considered to be Canonical or inspired. The Catholic Church on the contrary accepts them all as of equal authority with the rest of the Books. The reason for this divergence lies in the fact that the Protestant Bible only contains those Books which are to be found in the Hebrew Bible, whereas the Catholic Bible is based—not on the Hebrew or Jewish tradition —but on the Greek Jewish Bible used by Our Lord and His Apostles. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 588 the Jews were scattered; many of them found their way to Egypt, and there in course of time a translation of the Bible into Greek was formed, see under *Greek versions.* It seems certain that the list of Books considered authoritative in Palestine differed from that accepted in Egypt, hence it is customary to speak of the Hebrew and Greek Canons respectively, or of the 'first' and the 'second' Canons. Books found in the Hebrew Bibles as well as in the Greek are called 'Proto-canonical,' as belonging to the 'first' Canon, while those found only in the Greek Bibles are called 'Deuterocanonical' as belonging to the 'second' canon.

It is these latter Books which the Protestant Bibles call 'Apocryphal,' whereas Catholics confine that term to Books which are to be rejected as not being inspired, e.g., the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Gospel of Peter*, &c.

It has been urged at times that, after all, the Jews were the best judges as to the contents of the Bible. But the Jews of Palestine were not more Jews than those in Alexandria; it remains to be proved, too, that the former did not receive the same Books as those of Alexandria. But the chief thing to be remembered is that the Church has never tied Herself down to the authority of the Jews on this or any other point of doctrine, but depends solely upon Apostolic tradition, *see below*.

In brief, then, the ordinarily accepted view of the formation of the O.T. Canon is as follows:—

(*a*). The Books were, of course, written at different times.

(*b*). Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-26; shews the germ of a *collection*.

(*c*). Jos. xxiv. 25, and I. Sam. x. 25, shew how Moses' successors imitated him, and *added to the collection*.

(*d*). In I. Par. xxix. 30, we have a hint regarding the successive steps in the formation of the collection now known as the Psalter; i.e., the Psalms of Asaph are added to the already existing collection of Davidic Psalms.

(*e*). The same activity in collecting the Sacred Writings is borne witness to in Prov. xxv. 1, where we are told that the men of Ezechias copied out other parables of Solomon.

(*f*). Dan. ix. 2, shews that Daniel knew of a *collection* of Sacred Books.

(*g*). Finally, in II. Macc. ii. 13, we find it stated that Nehemias was strenuous in his efforts to form 'a Sacred Library.'

The traditional view is that Esdras *closed the Canon*, i.e., that no authoritative pronouncement was made in Palestine regarding the contents of the Canon after the time of Esdras. The grounds for this assertion are

(*a*). That after the time of Esdras the Jews had no official Prophet, cf. I. Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, and xiv., 41,

(*b*). That we know of no additions to the Hebrew Canon after the Prophecy of Malachias who was probably contemporary with Esdras.

(*c*). In the tract *Baba Bathra* of the Talmud we have the following extraordinary statement:—

" Moses wrote his book, the section of Balaam and Job; Josue wrote his book and the eight verses of the Law; Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth; David wrote the Book of Psalms with the aid of the ten Ancients, with the aid of Adam the first, Melchisedec, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, the three sons of Core; Jeremias wrote his book, the books of Kings and Lamentations; Ezechias and his company wrote Isaias, Proverbs, Canticle of Canticles, and Ecclesiastes . . . ; the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezechiel and the Twelve (Minor Prophets), Daniel and the roll of Esther Esdras wrote his book and the genealogy of Chronicles unto himself."

It is maintained that the word 'wrote' is not to be understood here as meaning composition but rather authoritative confirmation. If this be so then we can see in this passage the attribution of an act of *canonisation* to Moses, Josue, Samuel, David, Jeremias, Ezechias and 'his college,' to the 'men of the Synagogue,' and finally to Esdras.

(*d*). In IV. Esdras xiv. 18-47, we read that when all the Sacred Books had perished during the Exile Esdras won from God their complete restoration; God dictated to him ninety-four Books in forty days; seventy of these he was told to hide, the remaining twenty-four he was told to publish. This apocryphal passage clearly indicates the existence of a tradition to the effect that Esdras in some sense formed the canon of the O.T.

It is often asserted that the Fathers depended absolutely on this passage when defending the Canon; but it should be noted that while it is true that some of them, e.g., Tertullian, St. Basil, Theodoret, Clement of Alexandria, &c., do use it and depend on it, others,

e.g., St. Irenæus and St. Chrysostom, while making use of it, also use other sources as well and are not entirely dependent on the passage from IV. Esdras. Others again, e.g., St. Isidore and Pseudo-Athanasius, make no use of it whatever.

The undoubted existence, however, of the Alexandrian Canon compels us to accept with caution the statement that Esdras did in any formal manner declare the Canon closed. In fact some Books were called in question at a later time by the Rabbis themselves, notably at the Council of Jamnia in 90 or 118 A.D.* though it is possible that there they only questioned *how* certain Books came to be canonical rather than *whether* they actually were so. It is also to be noted that some of the genealogies in Paralipomena come down to a period later than that of Esdras himself. At the same time it would be uncritical to deny all weight to the statements regarding Esdras. Perhaps the following passage from Josephus shows us in what light we are to regard it:—

"We have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. The interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their time in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes, very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time; and how firmly we have given credit to those books of our nation is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one

* There appear to have been two Councils held at Jamnia, one about A.D. 90, the other in A.D. 118.

has been so bold as either to add anything to them or take anything from them, or to make any change in them whatever; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrine, and to persist in them, and if occasion arise, willingly to die for them." *Contra Apion*, i. 8.

Here Josephus clearly shows that he knows of other Books besides those in the Hebrew Canon, but he says that there has been no authoritative pronouncement regarding them 'because there has been no exact succession since that time.' That Josephus knew, for example, the Books of Maccabees, is clear, for they constitute practically his sole authority for the period. But he did not know that they were inspired. And the same must, presumably, be said of the rest of the Palestinian Jews; they knew of these other Books but had no means at their disposal for determining their Canonicity. It was not until the 'Prophet of Prophets' used the Greek Bible in which these Books were contained that 'a faithful Prophet' could be said to have arisen, Who had the authority to decide the question. It is upon Him and His Apostles that the Christian Church depends, and not upon the testimony of the Jewish Church from which 'the glory had departed.'

THE MODERN VIEW AS TO THE FORMATION OF THE O.T. HEBREW CANON. In the Hebrew Bible we have the threefold division given above, that namely into 'the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings.' It is commonly maintained that in this threefold division we are to see the three steps which went to the formation of the Canon. An analysis of the contents of these three main divisions is said to lead to the following conclusions:—

(*a*). Deuteronomy was 'discovered'—if not, according to many critics, 'fraudulently composed'—in B.C. 621.

(*b*). The Pentateuch as a whole was 'promulgated' by Esdras (Neh. viii.) about B.C. 440.

(*c*). These two events may be considered as the 'canonisation' of the respective portions, for, the

'Priestly Code,' i.e., the larger portion of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, contains legislation later than Deuteronomy.

(*d*). The date of canonisation of the 'Prophets,' both the 'Former' and the 'Latter,' cannot, since many of the Books bear traces of the influence of Deuteronomy, be earlier than the 'discovery' of the latter in 621. Their moralising character caused them to be singled out, and we have an indication of this awakened interest in the Prophetic writings in the act recorded of Nehemias in II. Macc. ii. 13; hence we may say that all the Prophetic writings were declared 'Canonical' between 300 and 150 B.C.

Having thus accounted for the two first divisions of the Bible it remains to be seen how the third division, that namely of 'the Writings,' came to be regarded as canonical.

(*e*). Some 'Writings' would stand out as pre-eminent, and would be regarded as an appendix to the Law and the Prophets. Their value would be realised when Antiochus Epiphanes in B.C. 167 attempted to destroy the collections, I. Macc. i., 56-57; in II. Macc. ii. 13, we have a reminiscence of some such 'collecting' and of the probable canonisation of such Books.

(*f*). This hypothesis would explain, it is thought, the peculiar character of the contents of the Hagiographa. How else, it is asked, can we explain the fact that

i. Ruth, Esther, and I-II. Paral. are not among the 'Former Prophets,' i.e., the historical Books?

ii. Similarly, that Daniel and Lamentations are not among the 'Latter Prophets?'

(*g*). And this view is confirmed, so it is held, by the disputes relative to the canonicity of such Books as Canticles, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and I-II. Chron., at the Council of Jamnia.

(*h*). It is further urged that most of these Books might easily remain for a long time without definite canonisation owing to the fact that they were not really liturgical, and hence not in public use.

We need not criticise these views in detail: it may be sufficient to remark in general that it is precarious

to argue from the *present* divisions of the Hebrew Bible. The LXX. bears witness to an order which accords far more with that in use in our Latin Bibles. And though nearly every MS. has a different order as regards individual Books, yet the great threefold division in the Hebrew Bibles is conspicuous by its absence. Moreover, the LXX. order witnesses to a tradition much older than that of the present Hebrew Massoretic text. At the same time it is true that the threefold division is as old as the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, i.e., about 132 B.C. We have no means, however, of deciding what were, according to this writer, the precise contents of each division. It is possible that the omission from Ecclus. xlix. 1, of Daniel, Esdras, and Esther, may show that the canonicity of their Books was not at that time (c. 180 B.C.) known at Alexandria.

And this confirms the view we have stated above regarding Josephus' testimony to the contents of the Canon in his time. Since the cessation of Prophecy there had been no means of securing a definite pronouncement on Books written subsequent to the time of Artaxerxes, and it is in this sense true that Esdras probably made some definite pronouncement regarding the contents of the Canon. But these Books were known in the country which gave them birth, whether Palestine or Egypt. Thus Philo, while never quoting the *Deuterocanonica* as authorities, yet shows a knowledge of them, and his language is tinged by them; no argument, indeed, can as a matter of fact, be drawn from his not quoting them, for, apart from the Pentateuch, he appears to make no distinction between the Sacred and profane books. Similarly, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, knew the fragments of Daniel; Josephus quotes Esther; Origen tells us that Baruch was in his time joined to Jeremias—and this after he has given the Hebrew Canon; similarly, St. Epiphanius tells us of the honour in which Ecclesiasticus was held—and this, too, after enumerating the Books of the Hebrew Canon.

THE GROUNDS FOR ACCEPTING THE DEUTEROCANONICAL BOOKS. As already stated, these Books had a place in the Alexandrian Canon as shown in the LXX.

This Greek Bible was the one in use at the time of Our Lord. He can never be said to have expressly quoted any of the Books exclusively found in the Greek Bible; yet there can be no question that the New Testament is in many places tinged with the language of these Books, and, in one place at least, an argument in favour of a dogmatic point is derived from one of them, cf. Heb. i. 3, and Wisd. vii. 26, in the Greek text. We append below a list of passages in the New Testament which show traces of the *Deuterocanonica*. It should be remembered, too, that outside Palestine the Jews could not use the Hebrew Bible and were accustomed everywhere to the Greek text, and consequently to the peculiarly Greek Books. Hence it is that St. Paul, with two exceptions, always quotes from the LXX., though he often does so from memory only and his quotations cannot always be clearly referred either to the Hebrew or the Greek.

Further, it should be noted that the early Fathers were all accustomed to the same version; with the exception of Origen hardly one of them had even a smattering of Hebrew. And there can be no doubt that the translation of the Bible into Greek was, under Divine Providence, a most potent factor in the conversion of the world to Christianity. It had served to make known to the Gentile world the Sacred Books of the Hebrews, and now when the Messias had come the Apostles could turn to a Book which was readily accessible to all in proof of their assertion that this same Messias had been foretold from the beginning of the world.

THE USE OF THE DEUTEROCANONICA IN N.T. As already remarked, these Books are not quoted, save in the one instance mentioned, in the New Testament, but

(*a*). They do not lend themselves to quotation since they do not contain the greater Messianic passages.

(*b*). Some of the Protocanonical Books also are not quoted, e.g., Ecclesiastes and Esther, Canticles, Esdras and Nehemias, &c.

(*c*). We give a series of passages which show traces of the *Deuterocanonica*, premising however that

many of these traces can only be detected in the original text:—

1.	I. Peter i. 6-7	... Wisd. iii. 5-6.
2.	Matth. xxvii. 39-42	... Wisd. ii. 13-20.
3.	Heb. i. 3	... Wisd. vii. 26.
4.	Heb. iv. 12-13	... Wisd. vii. 22-25.
5.	Rom. i. 20-32	... Wisd. xiii. 1-4.
6.	I. Cor. ii. 10	... Judith viii. 14.
7.	Matth. xiii. 43	... Wisd. iii. 7.
8.	I. Cor. vi. 2	... Wisd. iii. 8.
9.	Ephes. vi. 13	... Wisd. v. 17-18.
10.	Rom. xiii. 1	... Wisd. vi. 4.
11.	Rom. xi. 34, & I. Cor. ii. 6	... Wisd. ix. 13.
12.	II. Cor. ix. 7	... Ecclus. xxxii. 9 (LXX.).
13.	Rom. ix. 21	... Wisd. xv. 7-8.
14.	Luke xii. 19, 29	... Ecclus. xi. 19-20 (LXX.).
15.	John i. 1, 14	... Ecclus. xxiv. 8 (LXX.).
16.	Rom. v. 12	... Ecclus. xxv. 24 (LXX.).
17.	Matth. xvi. 27	... Ecclus. xxxii. 19 (LXX.).
18.	John vi. 35	... Ecclus. xxiv. 21 (LXX.).

THE TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS TO THE DEUTEROCANONICA. Briefly, we find *St. Clement of Rome* quoting—or at least alluding to—Judith, Tobias, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus.

In the *Shepherd of Hermas* there are at least 20 allusions to Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and II. Maccabees.

Passing to a later period still we find that *Hippolytus* knows the fragments of Daniel, Tobias, I-II. Macc., Wisdom, and Baruch. The same must be said of *St. Irenæus.* It is the same in Africa; *Tertullian* and *St. Cyprian* are well acquainted with them all and use them frequently.

Origen even wrote a defence of their canonicity which has come down to us in his *Letter to Africanus.* For him the LXX. is divine and its contents have Apostolic authority. In the little treatise *De Oratione,* he quotes Wisdom four times, Tobias four times, and Judith twice.

Indeed it may be said that the evidence of these Fathers is so clear in favour of the *Deuterocanonica* that were it not for the subsequent action of St. Jerome there would be no question now as to the absolute

right of these Books to a place in the Canon. It is often objected, however, that on these lines we ought to allow a place in the Canon to such Books as the *Shepherd* and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* since they are often referred to by the Fathers; but it may be remarked that:

(*a*) No apocryphal Book is used by the Fathers *persistently*.

(*b*) Nor for any length of time in the Church.

(*c*) That no one of them is *insisted* on as Canonical by any Father.

(*d*) That none were *widely* received.

(*e*) There are only incidental quotations of these books, and Fathers occasionally question whether they really are canonical.

The Books mentioned above belong to New Testament times, instances where O.T. Apocrypha are quoted by the Fathers are rare. It should be noted, too, that these Fathers were far too well aware of the importance of what they said to have risked quoting the Deuterocanonical Books had they not had good reasons for what they did.

At a later time, however, doubts began to arise in the Church as to the real position of the Books which did not occur in the Hebrew Bible; controversy with the Jews undoubtedly showed that there were Books accepted by Christians but which the Jews rejected. It might seem an overwhelming argument that Books to which the Christians triumphantly referred were after all not in the Hebrew Bible. Hence we find that in the Fourth Century doubts had arisen and that a tendency manifested itself to range these Books apart as Ecclesiastical rather than as Canonical.

Thus we find St. Athanasius saying: "Since some have endeavoured to reduce to order the apocryphal books as they are called, and have also endeavoured to insert them amongst the divinely inspired Scriptures which we have received from sure witnesses, as they have been handed down to us by the Fathers who were witness from the beginning and were ministers of the word; it seemed fitting for me, too, at the instigation of the brethren, to set down from the commencement

and in order, as I have learnt it, the Books which belong to the Canon, which are handed down to us and which, moreover, are believed to be divine; so that any who have been led astray may be able to refute their seducers and those who have kept themselves unspotted may joyfully commit them to memory."

St. Athanasius then declares that there are twenty-two Books 'according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet,' but it is not the Hebrew Canon which he enumerates, for he gives *Baruch* and the *Epistle of Jeremias*, Books which certainly never had a place in the Hebrew Canon; moreover he never refers to *Hebrew* tradition but to the testimony of the 'Fathers who were ministers of the word.'

He gives the New Testament Canon in the same order as ours except that he inserts the Catholic Epistles before the Pauline. He concludes with the words: "these are the fountains of salvation let no one add to or subtract from them . . . But for the sake of greater accuracy I think it necessary to add that there are also certain other Books which are not included in the Canon but which the Fathers appointed to be read by those who have lately approached (the Church), and who are eager to be instructed and to learn pious doctrine: the *Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Wisdom of Sirach*, *Esther*, *Judith*, *Tobias*, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and the *Shepherd*. Whereas, however, the former are included in the Canon and the latter are appointed to be *read*, there is no mention of the *Apocrypha* which are nothing but the fictions of heretics who compose books after their own likings and assign dates to them so as to deceive simple souls by a fictitious appearance of antiquity." (*Ep.* xxxix.)

St. Athanasius, then, regarded the Books of the Old Testament as falling into three groups, the Canonical, the Ecclesiastical, and the Apocryphal. And though he does not regard those in the second class as of equivalent rank with those in the first, yet he looks upon them as worthy of all respect and as very different from the 'Apocrypha.' The same division is to be found in the *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* long attributed to St. Athanasius and undoubtedly composed about his time. It occurs again in the *Catechism*

of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, lib. IV. chs. 33-36, where he tells his hearers that they must be "careful to learn—and that from the Church—which are the Books of the Old and the New Testaments, and must have nothing to do with the Apocrypha. For when you do not even know those Books which all acknowledge —what is the good of wasting time over those which are doubtful? Read the divine Scriptures, those twenty-two Books of the Old Testament which the Seventy Interpreters translated." He then narrates the story of the formation of this translation and adds: "Read their twenty-two Books and have nothing to do with the Apocrypha. Carefully meditate these alone for we receive them in the Church with all confidence. Much wiser and much more careful (religiosiores) than you were the Apostles and Bishops of old, the rulers of the Church who have handed them down. You, then, as a son of the Church, transgress not her laws. Meditate, then, as we have said, the twenty-two Books of the Old Testament, and, if you are anxious to learn, fix them in your memory as I mention them each by name." He then gives the names according to the Hebrew list, though not in the same order, and with the addition of Baruch and the Epistle; after which he gives those of the New Testament, omitting the Apocalypse; he concludes by saying: "All the rest belong to the second rank; but those which are not read in the Church do not even read in private."

Rufinus in the Latin Church held the same views. Like St. Athanasius, Pseudo-Athanasius, and St. Cyril, he distinguishes between the Canonical Books, the Ecclesiastical (amongst which in the New Testament he enumerates the *Shepherd* and the *Duæ Viæ*, or *Judgement of Peter;* he concludes by saying: "All the rest are called 'Apocryphal' and are not read in the Church. These things have been handed down to us by the Fathers." *Symbol. Apost.* 36.

St. Jerome's views on the Old Testament Canon are not so clear as those would have it who reject the Deuterocanonical Books on his authority. Yet there can be no doubt that he did explicitly reject them. Thus in his *Preface* to his Translation of the Sapiential Books he says:

"As then the Church reads Judith, Tobias, and

the Books of Maccabees, but does not admit them among the Canonical Scriptures, so let it read these two volumes for the edification of the people, not to give authority in the Church."

Again, in his Preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings, commonly known as the *Prologus Galeatus*, or 'Helmeted Preface,' St. Jerome—after enumerating the Canonical Books according to the order and contents of the Hebrew Bibles—says: "This Preface to the Scriptures may serve as a 'helmeted' introduction to all the Books which we translate from Hebrew into Latin, so that we may be assured that what is not found in our list must be placed among the Apocryphal writings. *Wisdom*, therefore, which generally bears the name of Solomon, and the Book of Jesus, the son of *Sirach*, and *Judith*, and *Tobias*, and the *Shepherd*, are not in the Canon. The First Book of *Maccabees* I have found to be Hebrew, the Second is Greek, as can be proved from the very style."

Similarly, in his *Epistle to Paulinus* (*Ep.* liii., 8), he passes in Review all the Books of the Old Testament according to the Hebrew Canon, and he gives no hint that there are any others.

But in spite of these positive assertions there are many passages in his writings which show that St. Jerome's views on the subject of the Canonicity of the Deuterocanonical Books were by no means consistent. In the first place, he uses the term 'Apocrypha' in widely different ways: thus in his *Life of St. Barnabas* he speaks of the *Epistle of St. Barnabas* as being composed for the *edification* of the Church,' and yet adds that 'it is read amongst the *Apocryphal* Scriptures';* similarly he speaks of Judith as being 'Apocryphal' and (therefore) as of less weight in deciding controversies.'† It will be noticed that he here seems to use the terminology with which we have become familiar from St. Athanasius, etc., and divides the Books of the Bible into Canonical, Ecclesiastical and Apocryphal. Again, he often speaks as though in doubt about the Canonicity of the Deuterocanonical Books: thus arguing against the Pelagians from *Eccle-*

* Contra Helvid. 8. Contra Vigil. 6. Contra Ruf. I. 27.

† Ep. 107, 12.

siasticus, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Wisdom*, he feels bound to confirm these arguments by citations from the Ep. to the Romans, 'lest perchance anyone should object to this volume.' He makes the same qualifications when quoting Judith and Tobias, of the latter he remarks that he has used it as an argument 'because, though not in the Canon, it is yet used by Churchmen.'*

But it is still more striking to note how often he quotes these Deuterocanonical Books without any apparent doubts as to their Canonicity; thus in the first six chapters of his commentary on Isaias† he quotes *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* at least six times; he terms them 'our Books' as opposed to Greek profane writings also quoted; he calls them 'Sacred Scripture'; says that they teach us certain precepts, and quotes them on a par with Protocanonical Books under the formula 'it is written'; the same thing is to be noted in his other commentaries and in his Epistles;‡ in fine, as Cornely well says: 'there is no Book or fragment of the Second Canon which he does not use with reverence and as a divine authority.'§ The reason for this fluctuation in his opinions is not far to seek. Brought up in the West, he had always been accustomed to regard the Deuterocanonical Books as of equal authority with the Protocanonical, but—carried away by his Hebrew studies—he came to regard the Hebrew Bible as the sole standard of authority. These views he insisted on in his *Prologus Galeatus*, A.D. 391, and in his *Preface to Esdras and Nehemias*, A.D. 394. At a later period, however, he would appear to have been influenced by the declarations of the Councils of Hippo and Carthage, and hence modified his opinion in his later works, e.g., in his *Preface to the Sapiential Books*. In his later commentaries, e.g., in that on Isaias, A.D. 410, he quotes the Deuterocanonical Books as authorities and that without hesitation. And it should be noted that his very wavering is the best proof of the Christian tradition in favour of the Deuterocanoical Books; the Church

* Contra Pelag. I. 33. Ep. liv. 16; in Agg. I. 5; Prol. in Jonam.

† In Is. ii. 24; iii. 3, 7, 14; vi. 5.

‡ Ep. lviii. 1; lxii. 5; cviii. 16, 22; cxviii. 1, 4; cxxv. 19, etc.

§ Ep. lxv. 1; lxxix. 11; xxi. 21; cxxx. 4, etc. Cornely. I. 107.

has never confined Herself to the authority of one Doctor, and it is at least remarkable that all through St. Jerome's life we have repeated Ecclesiastical and Patristic testimonies in favour of the Canonicity of the Books of the Second Canon.

THE CHRISTIAN CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. We have already touched incidentally on this point, and what has been said will serve to explain as well the action of the Church in deciding the contents of the Canon, as the—at times conflicting—views of various Fathers on the subject.

We learn the Church's teaching from Her definite documents and pronouncements; but these only mirror the teaching of the age in which they were formulated. Hence, while accepting without hesitation the formal decisions of the Church, we are—if we would defend Her teaching against those who impugn it—bound to see how far the literature of the Early Church, as it has come down to us, bears out the ultimate decisions at which the Church has arrived.

The definite pronouncements of the Church upon the Canon.

I.—THE COUNCIL OF NICE. There are solid reasons for thinking that this Council published a list of the Canonical Books:

(*a*). St. Jerome says, *Pref. to Judith and Tobias*, that he has consented to translate Judith because the Bishops have, contrary to the Hebrew Canon, included it in the Canon.

(*b*). Cassiodorus argues concerning the mystical number of the Books from the 'Synods of Nice and Chalcedon.'

(*c*). The 36th Canon of the Council of Hippo is, in some texts, furnished with the title: 'that besides the Catholic Scriptures nothing should be read in Church; (according to the xxivth Canon of Nicaea).'

But no trace of this Canon is now to be found.

II.—THE COUNCIL OF LAODICEA, c. 363. Such grave doubts have been thrown on the lists furnished in this Council—they vary indeed in every MS.—that we may well leave it out of consideration.

III.—THE COUNCIL OF HIPPO (A.D. 393, confirmed in Co. of Carthage, A.D. 397), has the following declaration:

> " It was also decided that besides the Canonical Scriptures nothing should be read under the title of *Scripture* in the Church. And the Canonical Scriptures are the following:" there then follows a list in all respects identical with that of Trent, thus we have 'the *five* Books of Solomon', i.e. *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* are included; also *Tobias*, *Judith*, and the two Books of *Maccabees; Baruch*,of course, is included under Jeremias. The list of New Testament Books then follows and is identical with that of Trent.
>
> At the close we read the significant words: " Yet let the Church across the seas be consulted as regards the confirmation of this Canon." What is meant by 'the Church across the seas' is clear from the declaration of the Council of Carthage held in A.D. 419; in it the same list of Books was repeated with the exception of Ezechiel—an omission due apparently to an oversight on the part of some copyist;—the Decrees close with the words: " Let this also be made known to our Brother and fellow-Priest, the Holy Boniface, Bishop of the City of Rome, or to other Bishops of the same *(earum)*, for the confirmation of this Canon, for we have learnt from our Fathers that so we should read in the Church."

IV.—Precisely the same Canon was given by *Pope Innocent I.* in his answer to Exuperius the Bishop of Toulouse, in A.D. 401. A similar Canon is attributed to either Pope Damasus (366-384), Pope Gelasius (492-496), or Pope Hormisdas (514-523); the arguments for attributing it to Pope Damasus are strong, in spite of the fact that it does not agree with the views of his secretary, St. Jerome.

V.—St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, II. viii. 13, says: " The whole Canon of Scripture is contained in the following Books: the five *Books of Moses* . . . one of *Josue Nave*, one of *Judges*, one which is termed *Ruth*, and which seems rather to belong to the beginning of *Kingdoms;* then four Books of *Kingdoms*, and two of *Paralipomenon* which do

not follow upon the former, but rather run parallel with them and have the same aim. So far the history, which gives the dates appended and the order of events. There are other histories, apparently of a different kind, they follow neither the order of time nor are they connected with one another, such are *Job* and *Tobias* and *Esther* and *Judith* and the *two Books of Maccabees* and the *two of Esdras*, which latter seem to follow the ordinary history ending with *Kingdoms and Paralipomena*. Then come the *Prophets*, among whom *David* with the one Book of *Psalms*, and *Solomon* with his three, *Proverbs*, *Canticle of Canticles*, and *Ecclesiastes*. For the other two, the one called *Wisdom* and the other *Ecclesiasticus*, are only termed Solomon's from a certain similarity (to his work) . . . none the less, since they have been accounted authoritative, they are counted amongst the Prophets. The remainder are the Books of those who are strictly termed Prophets: each of the twelve Prophets which are connected together and—since they have never been separated—are counted as one . . . ; then come the four Prophets who have written at greater length, Isaias, Jeremias, Daniel, and Ezechiel. In these forty-four Books* of the Old Testament, you have the authoritative writings of the Old Testament."

VI.—This same Canon again appears in the COUNCIL OF FLORENCE, held in 1438: "The Holy Roman Church professes that one and the same God is the Author of the Old and of the New Testaments, that is of the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels; since the holy men of either Testament spoke under the inspiration of the same Spirit; their Books the Church receives and venerates and they are contained in the following list (titulis)."—*The Decree for the Jacobites, or the Bull of Pope Eugenius IV., 'Cantate Domino.'*

But it was not till the time of the Reformation, when the so-called Reformers had indulged in the most extravagant views regarding Canonicity, that the Church in the Council of Trent, formally discussed the actual status to be assigned to the Deuterocanonical Books,

* S. Augustine presumably united *Baruch* and *Lamentations* with *Jeremias*.

i.e., those which did not find a place in the Hebrew Bibles. It was proposed by some to distinguish different grades of inspiration, assigning a higher degree to the Protocanonical Books; but this view did not prevail, and in spite of the influence of St. Jerome's views—for to him and his rejection of the Deuterocanonica these ideas were due—it was decided to put all the Books, whether derived from the First or from the Second Canon, on the same footing.

VII.—We give the Decree of the Council in full:—

"The Holy, Oecumenical, and General Synod of Trent . . . having ever before its eyes the removal of error and the preservation of the Truth of the Gospel in the Church—that Gospel which, promised beforehand through the Prophets in the Holy Scriptures, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, first promulgated with His Own mouth and then ordered to be preached to every creature by His Apostles as the fountain of all saving truth and moral instruction; seeing, moreover, that this truth and instruction is contained in the written Books and in the unwritten traditions which were received by the Apostles from the very mouth of Christ, or were delivered, as it were by hand, by the Apostles themselves at the dictation of the Holy Spirit; this same Holy Synod, following the example of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with like devotion and reverence all the Books of both the Old and the New Testaments—since the one God is the Auther of both—, as also the aforesaid traditions, whether pertaining to faith or to morals, as delivered by the very mouth of Christ or dictated by the Holy Spirit and preserved in the Catholic Church by the unfailing succession. And lest any doubt should arise as to which are the Books received by this Synod it has seemed good to append to this Decree a list of them. The following, then, are the Books of the Old Testament:—

"The Five Books of Moses, namely Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.

Then Josue; Judges; Ruth; the Four Books of Kings; the Two Books of Paralipomena; the Two of Esdras—the First namely and the Second which is also called Nehemias; Tobias; Judith; Esther; Job;

the Davidic Psalter of CL. Psalms, Parables (Proverbs); Ecclesiastes; Canticle of Canticles; Wisdom; Ecclesiasticus; Isaias; Jeremias; Baruch; Ezechiel; Daniel; the Twelve Minor Prophets, namely, Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias; the Two Books of Maccabees, namely the First and the Second.

"The Books of the New Testament:—The Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke the Evangelist; Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul the Apostle, viz., to the Romans, Two to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, Two to the Thessalonians, Two to Timothy, to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; the Two Epistles of the Apostle Peter; the Three of the Apostle John; one of James; one of the Apostle Jude; and the Apocalypse of John the Apostle.

"If any one shall not receive these entire Books with all their parts, as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin edition; and whosoever shall knowingly and of set purpose (prudens) contemn the aforesaid traditions: let him be ANATHEMA."—*Council of Trent, Sess. IV.*

"Further, the same Holy Synod, considering that it will be no small gain to the Church of God if of all the Latin editions of the Sacred Scriptures which are in circulation, it be clearly made known which is to be considered authentic; decrees and declares that this same old and common (vulgata) edition which has been approved of in the Church by the use of long centuries, is to be held as authentic in public lectures, disputations, preachings, and expositions; and that no one is to dare or presume to reject it upon any pretext whatever."

APPROXIMATE DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS, OF THE FATHERS AND HERETICS, ETC., WHICH WITNESS TO THE CANON.

DATE	WEST	EAST	CARTHAGE	ALEXANDRIA
A.D. 30-50		Co. of Jerusalem, ? A D. 51		Philo, B.C. 27—A.D. 40
		Josephus, 37-100		
50-70	Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, 67.	Simon Magus, c. 70		
70-120	S. Clem. of Rome, 98. d.	Co. of Jamnia, ? 100		
		Cerinthus and the Ebionites, c. 100		
	Ep. to Diognetus, ? 117	Papias, 70-150		
		Ep. of Barnabas, c. 119		
120-140	Marcion, c. 140			
	Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, c. 120	S. Ignatius of Antioch, d. 107 or 115		
140-160	S. Justin, 148	Syriac verss, c. 150	Old Latin verss. c. 150	
	The 'Shepherd' of Hermas, ? 142	S. Polycarp, d. ? 155		
	Valentinus and Heracleon, c. 130-140			
	Tatian, c. 110-180	Tatian		
160-180	Canon of Muratori, c. 165			
	Melito, 176		Tertullian c. 160-230	Pantaenus, c. 179
180-200	S. Irenaeus, fl. 180	S. Irenaeus, fl. 180		
	Athenagoras, c. 177	Theophilus, c. 182		Clement of Alex. 169-218
			Origen, 184-253	Origen
200-240	Hippolytus, c. 220	S. Greg. Thaumat, c. 230		Denis of Alex. c. 230
240-270			S. Cyprian, d. 258	
270-300			Mani and the Manichaeans, 277	
300-350		Methodius, c. 311		
		Eusebius, 270-340		
		Co. of Nicaea, 325		
		S. Cyril of Jer. 315-386		S. Athanasius 329-373
350-400	S. Jerome, 342-420	S. Jerome		
	S. Augustine, 354-430		S. Augustine	
		S. Ephraim, d. 378		
		S. Greg. Nazianz, d. 389		
400-450		Theodore of Mopsuestia, d. 429		

HEBREW POETRY. One of the chief difficulties in the way of a full understanding of the Bible lies in its undoubtedly poetical character. And this poetry has little in common with our Western ideas of poetry, and is, moreover, obscured in translation. It is usual indeed, to divide the Books of the Bible into Historical and Poetical; but though this division is a practical one, we must not allow it to mislead us. For even the prose of the Bible is cast in poetical form at times. We must never forget that the Hebrew records were not, for the most part, originally committed to writing, but were handed down from mouth to mouth. Thus there is much to recommend the comparison drawn between the rhapsodical Homeric poems and the Hebrew narratives. How large a part poetry played in their annals may be gathered from the frequent allusions to poetical pieces now lost, e.g. to 'the Book of the Wars of the Lord,' Nbs. xxi. 14, 'the Book of Jashar,' Jos. x. 13, II. Sam. i. 18; also to lost poems of Solomon, III. Kgs. iv. 31-33. In Deut. xxxi. 19, 22, xxxii. 44, and II. Sam. i. 18, we have allusions to the habit of committing important things to memory; the same is borne out by the alphabetically constructed Psalms which were undoubtedly so formed in order to aid the memory. The poetical pieces in the early Books are the most archaic portions of the Bible, e.g., Gen. xlix., Exod. xv., Nbs. xxi., Jud. v., etc.

It is not easy to state precisely in what this poetry consisted. St. Jerome and others maintain that in the Psalter there are trimeters and tetrameters; St. Jerome even goes so far as to say that in the Book of Job we have hexameters with dactyls and spondees! But since the days of Lowth, who published his treatise on Hebrew Poetry in 1753, it has been evident that the root principle lies in the parallelism of members, or balancing of sentences. At the same time it would be wrong to suppose that Hebrew poetry consisted solely in this parallelism; there is also a constant play upon words, a love of assonance and of alliteration. Moreover, St. Jerome was not wrong when he insisted that there were Hebrew metres for there are measures not, however, of feet, but of accent. Hence we may say that the two essentials of Hebrew poetry are

parallelism of members and balance of accents; while the accessories are assonance, play upon words, and alliteration.

The parallelism of members is perhaps most clear in the Sapiential Books, e.g. Proverbs x. 1.

A wise son makes his father glad:
But a foolish son is the sorrow of his mother.

This is known as antithetical parallelism; i.e., where one member is opposed to another. When the same thought is repeated in successive verses, but in slightly different form, the parallelism is called 'syonymous,' e.g., Gen. iv. 23-24.

Ada and Sella hear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech hearken to my speech;
For I have slain a man to my own wounding,
A stripling to mine own bruising;
Sevenfold vengeance shall be taken for Cain,
But for Lamech seven times seven fold.

Sometimes the thought is piled up, so to speak; in a series of sentences the thought advances and so is brought home more and more cogently to the hearer or reader; a good example is to be found in Gen. xlix. 8-11.

Juda, thee shall thy brethren praise,
Thy hand shall be upon the necks of thine enemies,
The sons of thy father shall bow down to thee.
Juda is a lion's whelp,
To the prey, my son, thou art gone up,
Resting, thou hast crouched as a lion,
And as a lioness, who shall rouse him?
The sceptre shall not be taken from Juda,
Nor a ruler from his thigh,
Till he come that is to be sent,
And He shall be the Expectation of nations.

Examples of these different forms of parallelism may be discovered throughout the Bible; and their forms are infinitely various according as now the first line in the stanza is parallel with the last, the second with the last but one, and so on. The Gradual Psalms have been thought by some to be so named because constructed in 'stairway' fashion, e.g. Ps. cxx. Nor is this poetical structure confined to the Old Testament.

Our Lord used it in His most solemn addresses, e.g. in the Sermon on the Mount, St. Matth. vii. 7-8; cf. also xxiii. 8-12. The picture of the man who built his house on a rock or on sand, vii. 24-27, is arranged in two strophes which the student can readily work out for himself; similarly the sublime picture of the Judgement, in xxv. 31-46, falls naturally into four stanzas.

The question of accents is a more delicate one because it is impossible to reproduce it in a translation; moreover, critics still dispute regarding the principles underlying the Hebrew measures. A student may speedily convince himself of the part played by the accentuation if he will read aloud Ps. ii. in the Hebrew; while a similar reading of Is. xxiv-xxvii. will convince him of the striking use made of assonance and rhyme—note especially xxiv. 1-4, xxvii. 7.

So far we have spoken only of the structural principles of Hebrew poetry. The poetical pieces so constructed are of various kinds; we have lyric poetry in the Psalter, especially in the Psalms attributed to David; we have gnomic or sententious poetry, often in the form of riddles, in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, cf. also Jud. ix. 8-15. In Job and Canticle of Canticles we have the dramatic form, as also in certain Psalms, e.g., Ps. xxiii. In many Psalms a refrain occurs which serves either to break it up into strophes or to indicate the different parts of the chorus, e.g. Pss. xli-ii., xlviii., lxxix., cvi.

THE SENSES OF SACRED SCRIPTURE. The 'sense' of Scripture is that which is signified by the *words* or *persons and things* with which Scripture is concerned. The *Literal* sense is that of the words; the *Spiritual* or *Mystical* sense is that conveyed by the *persons* or *things* as being typical or figurative of some thing or some person other than themselves. The literal sense is twofold: the properly or strictly literal, e.g. the historical sense; and the improperly literal sense, i.e. the Metaphorical or Parabolical sense. The Spiritual or Mystical sense is twofold according as (*a*) the persons or things indicate to us what we are to *do*, or in other words, convey to us Moral teaching, this is sometimes called the 'Tropological' sense; (*b*) accord-

ing as these persons or things tell us by their lives or actions what we are to *believe;* and this again may be subdivided according as the Old Testament points us to Christ and the Church, i.e. to the New Testament, this is termed the 'Allegorical' sense; or according as either the Old or the New Testament points out to us the rewards of faith, i.e. the Kingdom of Heaven whither we are bound to tend, this is termed the 'Anagogical' sense.

These various 'senses' are summed up in the old doggerel verses:

> *Littera* gesta docet; quid credas *allegoria.*
> *Moralis* quid agas; quo tendis *anagogia.*

A rough rendering would be:

> The *Letter* tells of the deeds; the *allegory* what we are to believe.
> The *Moral* what we are to do; the *Anagogical* whither we are to tend.

The above are not four 'senses' but two, the literal and the spiritual, the latter being subdivided into three as we have said above. The 'accommodated' sense is not really a 'sense' of Scripture since it is not intended by the Divine Author; it consists in the application of certain passages of Holy Scripture, regardless of the context in which they are found, to particular doctrines which find fitting expression in that form of words, e.g., the words: 'Man shall come to a deep heart and God shall be exalted,' Ps. lxiii. 7-8, may be taken as expressing certain aspects of devotion to the Sacred Heart, but we have no right to say that this meaning was ever intended by the Holy Spirit. At the same time many of these accommodations receive a certain Ecclesiastical sanction from their use in the Liturgy, e.g. in the Divine Office; none the less they remain accommodations and no more. We must not, however, confuse the accommodated sense with the strictly typical sense, for since this latter is that signified by the persons or things in Holy Scripture it will follow that all that is said of them has a typical signification, thus, for example, the Spouse in the Canticle is typical of Our Blessed Lady, hence also the words, 'Et macula non est in te,' are not merely

accommodated to her, they belong to the real typical sense.

It will be clear that all the senses given above are not to be found in every passage of the Bible, we cannot even say that every passage has a spiritual sense at all, though it probably has. As a good example of all four senses, we may take the word 'Jerusalem': literally it means the City, spiritually it means (*a*) allegorically, the militant Church, (*b*) morally, the just soul, (*c*) anagogically, the Church triumphant.

The *Literal sense:* (*a*) the spiritual sense is founded upon it, and always proceeds from it.

(*b*) St. Augustine divides the literal sense into the Historical, Aetiological, and Analogical; but these are not three distinct kinds of literal senses so much as three different ways in which the literal sense is expressed; thus *History* means the mere expression of facts, *Aetiology*, or the 'science of causes,' the expression of the causes which motive certain facts, e.g., St. Matthew xix. 8, the hardness of their hearts was the reason for permitting divorce to the Jews of old; *Analogy* consists in supporting one passage of Scripture by another.

(*c*) St. Augustine and St. Thomas hold that it is possible to have a manifold literal sense, i.e. that one and the same passage can, even literally, have several distinct meanings: 'The literal sense,' says St. Thomas, 'is that which the author intends; since, then, the Author of the Bible is God Who simultaneously understands all things, there is nothing repugnant in the supposition, as St. Augustine says, *Confess.* xii. 31, that the Scripture may have many literal meanings in one phrase.' *Summa Theol.* I. qu. 1. art. 10. We have an example of this in Is. liii. 8, 'who shall declare His generation?' a passage which is understood both of the Eternal generation of Christ and of His birth of the Blessed Virgin.

(*d*) Under the literal sense in its wider or 'improper' signification we must group metaphors, symbols, and parables; thus 'the Lion of Juda hath conquered,' is a metaphor but belongs of course to the literal sense; as significative of Christ it belongs to the

typical or figurative, or mystical sense. Similarly, symbolical things whose whole meaning is prefigurative, e.g. the goat, the ram, the leopard, etc., in the Book of Daniel, come under the literal sense, though prefigurative of Christ. The same must be said of Our Lord's Parables.

The *Spiritual sense:* (*a*) It is essentially founded on the literal sense.

(*b*) Just as men can adapt certain things to signify other things—the letters of the alphabet, for example, are adopted to signify certain sounds—so also can God, since all things are subject to His Providence, make a certain series of things significative of other things. And when we consider the matter more closely, it becomes evident that the persons and events which figure in the Bible are really of no interest to us except as significative of Divine truths, see the use which St. Paul makes of the story of Abraham, Sara, and Agar, in Gal. iv.

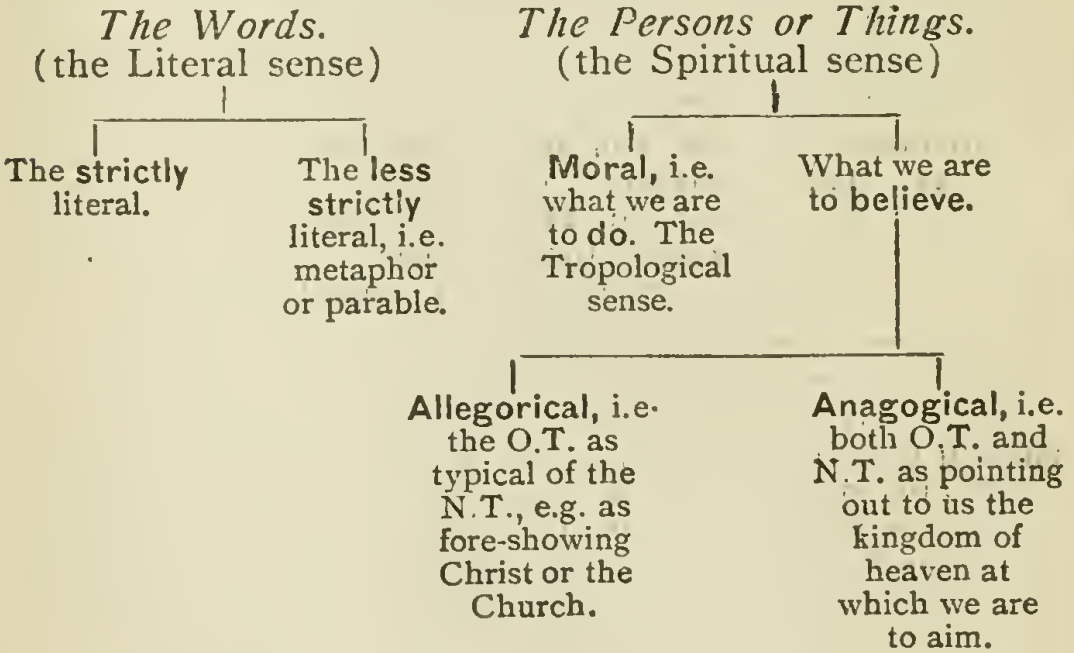
(*c*) That such a 'Spiritual' sense is to be found in Scripture is clear from the use which St. John, for instance, in xix. 36, makes of Exod. xii. 46, and Nbs. ix. 12. Various terms are used by Holy Scripture for things or persons thus Divinely significative; St. Paul calls them 'types,' 'examples,' 'shadows,' 'allegories,' 'parables,' cf. Rom. v. 14, I. Cor. x. 6, Gal. iv. 24, Heb. viii. 5, ix. 9; the things thus prefigured are termed 'antitypes,' I. Peter iii. 21.

(*d*) The use of this Scriptural sense has to be carefully safe-guarded; since it is the meaning which God, and not man, has attached to things or persons, we can only be certain that particular passages have a spiritual signification from the fact that this signification is presented to us elsewhere in the literal sense of a passage, or because it is directly taught us by the Infallible Church. Thus, the Church supplanted the Synagogue, as is declared throughout the New Testament; it is legitimate, then, to see this supplanting prefigured in Jacob's supplanting of Esau, and in Jacob's preference of Ephraim over Manasses.

The spiritual sense of Sacred Scripture is too much neglected nowadays, yet in it lies the real power and efficacy of the Bible; thus note St. Bonaventure's

beautiful words: 'Beneath the rind of the open letter lies hidden a mystical and profound meaning; and this for the confounding of our pride, so that by these supreme depths lying hidden beneath the lowliness of the letter both the proud may be humbled, the unclean repelled, the unjust turned away, and the negligent aroused to an understanding of the mysteries. And since they that listen to this teaching are not of one class but of every class—for indeed all who would be saved must know something of this teaching, it therefore hath a manifold understanding that so it may take captive every understanding and at the same time adapt itself to every understanding, may exceed all understanding, and yet may enlighten and alike enkindle by its varied ray every understanding that diligently applys itself to it.' (*Breviloquium* Proem. 5).

The annexed scheme will, perhaps, render the divisions given above easier to grasp:



MESSIANIC PROPHECIES. In a very true sense the whole of the Old Testament is prophetic of the Messias, indeed it may be said to have no other *raison d'être;* in St. Augustine's well-known words: *in Novo Testamento patent quæ in Veteri latent.* And herein lies the typical sense of Holy Scripture; the persons who figure in its pages, the things they do, and the words

they utter, are prefigurative of things spiritual and future. At the same time the Holy men of old—as St. Peter says: 'enquired and diligently searched . . . what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ in them did signify,' I. Peter i. 10-12; they only saw vaguely what we now see so clearly. Hence many of their utterances are only with difficulty recognised as Prophetic, and none but the same Holy Spirit of God Who revealed these things to them, can declare to us, through the Church, in what sense we are to understand their words—in St. Peter's words again: 'Understanding this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is made by private interpretation. For prophecy came not by the will of man at any time; but the Holy men of God spoke inspired by the Holy Spirit,' II. Peter i. 20-21. Thus we are often surprised to find in N.T. passages from O.T. quoted as of the Messias in a way we should never have expected, e.g., Heb. i. 10-12; where Ps. cii. 26-27, is quoted; cf. Rom. x. 20, and Is. lxv. 1, etc.

Hence in drawing up a list of Messianic passages we must not be understood as giving all those which are referable to the Messias but rather those which, from their directness or importance, are most striking.

Following, then, the order of the Books, we have:

Gen. iii. 14-15, to Eve, the *Protevangelion* as it is often termed, i.e., the first echo of the Gospel.
„ xii. 3, xxii. 18, to Abraham
„ xxvi. 4, to Isaac.
„ xxviii. 14, to Jacob.
„ xlix. 8-12, of Juda as the chosen tribe in which the Messias should come; spoken by Jacob when dying.

Nbs. xxiv. 17, spoken by Balaam.

Deut. xviii. 15, of the whole series of Prophets, culminating in *The* Prophet Whom the others but heralded; spoken by Moses.

II. Sam. vii. 15-29, the great promises to David by which his house was singled out 'for ever,' cf. I. Paral. xvii. 7-27; on these promises the whole subsequent Messianic doctrine was based, and in their light alone can we understand the *Messianic Psalms*, viii. xv., xxi., xliv., lxxi., cix., and cxxxi. But here, again, we must remember that the whole Psalter was, in a

sense, Messianic; it was the Messianic hymn-book of the nation. Yet in certain Psalms, e.g., in those just enumerated, the Seer seems to be for a moment uplifted, the mists which are natural to prophecy are dissipated for an instant, and he breaks out into words which astonish us by their clear insight into the future; then again the mists settle down, and the mountain summits which had been visible for a moment are once more shrouded in gloom. As an example of the Messianic sense of the whole Psalter—as the New Testament writers divinely understood it—we should note Ps. lxix., which we should hardly have thought of referring to the Messias, yet this Psalm is more often quoted as referring to Him than any other Psalm in the whole collection.

Isaias is more than once spoken of by St. Jerome as 'rather an Evangelist than a Prophet,' and the Saint's reason for so terming him is that the great Prophet sees so clearly into the future, and depicts in such striking language the sufferings of Our Lord that he might almost seem to have witnessed them. Hence it is difficult to single out special passages as 'Messianic' when the whole Prophecy from start to finish may be called 'Messianic.' Certain passages, however, stand out pre-eminent:

Is. vii. 14, viii. 10, ix. 6, xi. 1-10, xvi. 1, xlii. 1-7, lii. 13-liii. 12, lxi. 1-6, lxiii. 1-6, lxiv. 1-4, lxv. 1-2.

In the Prophecies of Jeremias we have not such startling references to the 'King Who is to come,' but amongst explicit declarations we may cite i. 32 and xxiii. 14.

Baruch, iii. 36-38.

Ezechiel, xliv. 1-3.

Daniel, ix. 21-27.

Amos, ix. 11.

Micheas, v. 2.

Habacuc, iii. 2, in LXX. cf. *Introduction* to Habacuc.

Aggeus, ii. 8.

Zacharias, iii. 8, vi. 12, ix. 9.

Malachias, i. 11, iii. 1-3, iv. 2

The student will do well to notice how these Prophecies grow in clearness and precision; thus the vague promise in Gen. iii. is in xlix. 10, limited to the tribe of Juda; in II. Sam. vii. it is further defined as be-

longing to the House of David. In certain Psalms, e.g. Ps. xxi. as also in Is. liii., the Messias is depicted as suffering; in others, e.g., Ps. xcii.-xcviii., He is described as the 'triumphant King.' In Isaias we begin to have specific Names for Him. He is 'the Holy One of Israel,' 'My Servant,' 'the Servant of the Lord'; in Jeremias He is 'the Just One'; in Ezechiel He is 'the Prince'; in Daniel 'the Saint of Saints'; in Micheas He is 'the Ruler'; in Aggeus and Zacharias He is 'the Orient'; in Malachi He is 'the Angel of the Lord.'

PARABLES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. The Hebrews had two words, *Chidah* and *Mashal*, which are used almost synonymously, cf. Ezech. xvii. 2; the former, however, more strictly signifies 'a riddle,' the latter 'a veiled saying,' or one which requires thought in order to detect its full significance, cf. Ps. lxxvii. 2, quoted in St. Matth. xiii. 35. The term Mashal was the more common of the two and was applied to all parables, proverbs, similitudes, symbolic expressions, and solemn utterances in general. This fact explains the way in which, in the N.T., we find the term 'parable' used both of a narrative intended to illustrate some spiritual truth, and also of what we should more correctly term a 'proverb,' cf. St. Luke iv. 23, and xii. 16. 'Fable' is to be distinguished from 'parable' in that the former takes occasion from the material creation to teach lessons of human wisdom; the latter, on the contrary, is solely concerned with the spiritual lessons to be drawn from human life. In this sense, too, allegory, metaphor, solemn utterance, and symbolic actions, are all much akin.

As examples of *riddles* we have: Jud. xiv. 12, and with it we may group the symbolic actions of Ezechiel, of which the people complained, xx. 49, that 'this man speaketh in parables,' i.e., in mysteries, cf. Ezech. iv. 1-3, 4-8, 9-12, v. 1-17, xii. 1-16, xxiv. 1–14, 15-27; cf. also Jer. xiii. 1-11, xviii. 1-10, xix. 1-13, xxvii-xxviii., xxxii. 7-15. With these should be compared the mysterious marriage of Osee, i-iii.

Solemn Utterances, often dignified by the term Mashal, occur in Job xxvii. 1, xxix. 1, Ps. xlviii. 5, 13, lxxvii. 2. And with these may be classed the

whole book of Proverbs as well as the sententious sayings in Ecclesiasticus, though we should rather describe them as 'proverbs.'

Allegories, in which, while one thing is spoken of, another is meant—and clearly understood to be meant—are not infrequent; cf. II. Sam. xiv. 5-10, Ps. lxxix. 9-16, Ezech. xvii. 1-10, xix. 1-14, xxiii. 1-49.

Parables properly so-called are perhaps non-existent in the O.T., though the beautiful allegory in Is. v. 1-7, is sometimes classed as such.

Proverbs—outside the Sapiential Books—are rare; we have what is perhaps a solitary example in I. Sam. x. 21.

The student should compare such passages as Nbs. xxiii. 7, 18, xxiv. 3, 15, 20, 23; also Nbs. xxi. 18, in the Hebrew text, and xii. 8, also III. Kgs. x. 1, and Hab. ii. 6, for various uses of the Hebrew expressions.

MIRACLES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Miracle may be defined as something which takes place by divine power outside the ordinary course of nature. Miracles thus defined fall into three classes according to the extent to which they transcend the powers of nature. Thus certain things never could under any circumstances be done by natural powers, e.g., the Transfiguration of Our Lord, the Resurrection of the dead, etc. Others, again, could be done by unaided nature, but not under the particular circumstances in question, e.g., nature gives life, yet cannot give it to a dead body, hence the raising of a dead man is a miracle. Lastly certain wonderful things take place which are only to be considered as miracles when we regard the way in which they happen, e.g., certain drugs can cure a fever, but no drug can cure a fever on the instant; nature, again, can cause darkness, but not such darkness as that of the ninth plague in Egypt. All the miracles given below will fall into one or other of these categories.

Exod. iv. 2-4, Moses' rod is turned into a serpent, cp. vii. 10.
„ iv. 6-7, His hand becomes leprous.
„ vii-xii., The ten plagues of Egypt.
„ xiii. 21-22, The pillar of cloud and fire, cp. Nbs. xiv. 14.

Exod. xiv., The passage of the Red Sea.
„ xv. 23-26, The healing of the waters of Mara.
„ xvi. 13, The quails, cp. Nbs. xi. 31-34.
„ xvi. 13-36, The Manna, cp. Nbs. xi. 2-9.
„ xvii. 6, Water from the rock at Rephidim, cp. Nbs. xx. 11.
„ xl. 32-36, The 'Glory' of the Lord, commonly termed by the Rabbis the 'Shechinah,' cp. Lev. ix. 23, Nbs. ix. 15-23, x. 11, xii. 10, xvi. 43, Deut. i. 33.
Lev. ix. 24, Fire descends on the holocaust, cp. II. Macc. ii. 10.
„ x. 2, Fire destroys Nadab and Abiu.
Nbs. xi. 1, Fire destroys the murmurers.
„ xii. 10, Mary is smitten with leprosy
„ xvi. 31, The earth opens and swallows Dathan and Abiron.
„ xvi. 35, Fire destroys the children of Core.
„ xvii. 1-10, Aaron's rod blossoms miraculously.
„ xxi. 6-9, The fiery serpent and the Brazen Serpent.
„ xxii. 28-30, Balaam's ass speaks to him.
Jos. iii., The miraculous passage of the Jordan.
„ vi., The walls of Jericho fall.
„ x. 12-14, The sun and the moon stand still, cp. Ecclus. xlvi. 5.
I. Sam. v. 3-5, The fall of Dagon.
„ v. 6-12, Plagues on the Philistines.
„ vi. 19, The slaughter of those who looked into the ark.
„ xii. 18, Thunder and rain out of due season at Samuel's prayer.
II. Sam. xxiv., The plague, owing to the census of the people; its cessation.
III. Kgs. viii. 10, The 'Shechinah' on occasion of the consecration of Solomon's temple; cp. II. Paral. v. 13-14.
„ xiii. 4-6, The withering of Jeroboam's hand, its restoration at the prophet's prayer, the rending of the altar.
„ xvii., Elias calls a famine on the earth; he is fed by ravens; he multiplies the oil and meal; he raises to life the widow's son.
„ xviii., Elias calls down fire from heaven on the sacrifice; and wins rain by his prayer.

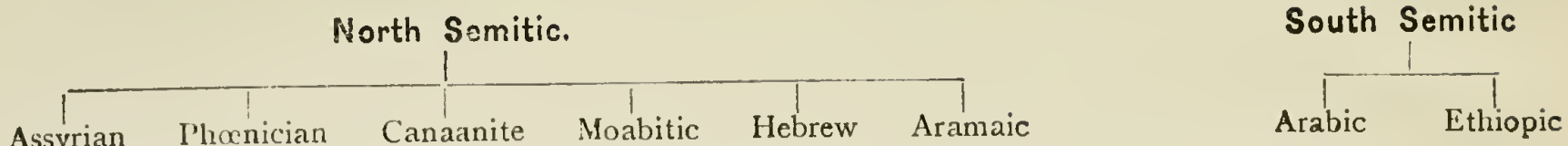
IV. Kgs. i., Elias calls down fire from heaven on the two captains with their two bands of fifty.
„ ii., Elias is taken up to heaven in a fiery chariot; his mantle descends on Eliseus who crosses the Jordan by its means; Eliseus sweetens a spring of water; bears come and destroy his mockers.
„ iii., Eliseus supplies the troops with water in the desert.
„ iv., Eliseus multiplies the oil; he raises a child to life; he purifies the poisoned food; he multiplies food.
„ v., Naaman is miraculously healed in the Jordan; his leprosy attaches itself to Giezi, Eliseus' servant, because of his dishonesty.
„ vi., Eliseus makes iron to swim; he blinds the Syrian troops and leads them into Samaria.
„ xiii., The bones of Eliseus miraculously give life to a dead man, cp. Ecclesiasticus xlviii., 14.
„ xix., An angel slays 85,000 of Sennacherib's troops, cp. II. Paral. xxxii. and Isaias xxxvii.
„ xx., Ezechias' life is prolonged by fifteen years, the shadow on the dial of Achaz going back ten degrees in proof of this, cp. II. Paral. xxxii., Isaias xxxviii.

II. Paral. vii. 1, Fire descends on Solomon's holocausts, cp. II. Macc. ii. 10.
„ xiv. 12, Asa gains a miraculous victory over the Ethiopians.
„ xxvi. 19, the miraculous leprosy of Azarias.

Daniel i. 15, Miraculous preservation of the health of Daniel and his companions.
„ iii. 24, 48, 91, 93, Their miraculous preservation in the furnace.
„ v., The writing on the wall.
„ vi., Daniel in the lion's den.
„ xiii. 45-50, Daniel's miraculous knowledge.
„ xiv., Daniel again in the lions' den; the transportation of the Prophet Habacuc.

II. Macc. iii., The divine punishment of Heliodorus.
„ xv., A sword is divinely bestowed on Judas Maccabeus.

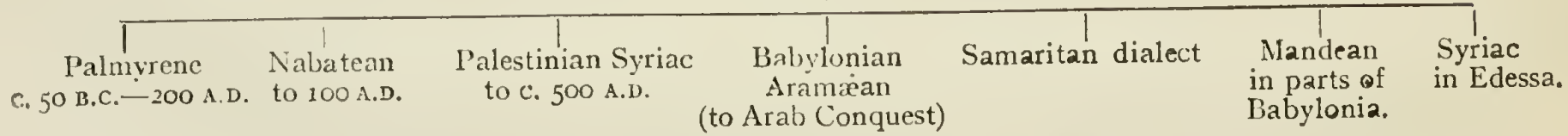
TABLE OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES.



(a) Phœnician in Inscriptions, and later Punic of Carthage.
(b) Canaanite in glosses on the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.
(c) Moabitic on the Moabite stone.
(d) Hebrew in Bible and in the later Scholastic Hebrew of the Mishna.

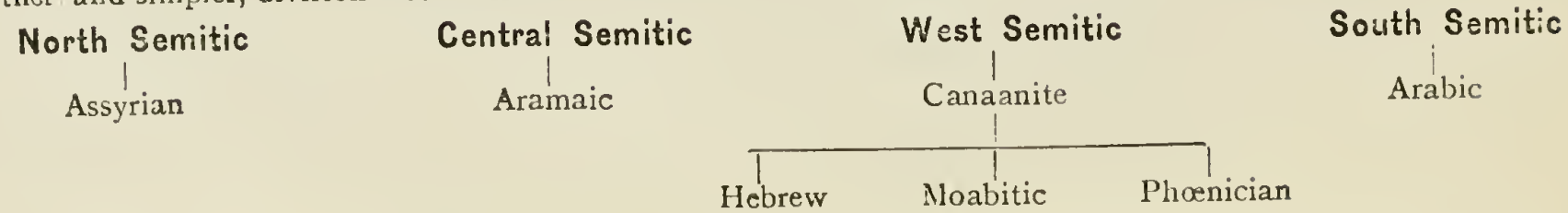
(e) Aramaic, the most wide-spread of all.
1. 8th cent. Inscr. Zenjirli
2. also in Ninive
3. in Egypt of the Persian Period
4. in Chaldaic portions of the Bible
5. in Arabia, Persian Period.

Aramaic later developed into



The Mohammedan invasion of the Seventh Century abolished Aramaic.

Another and simpler, division would be :—



but it is probable that Canaanite should not be regarded as the parent of Hebrew, Phœnician and Moabitic.

CHAPTER III

THE HEBREW BIBLE. As is evident from the account already given of the Sacred Scriptures, the Hebrew Bible was a thing of gradual formation. That many of the original documents which were used in its formation were in the cuneiform script is very probable. Whether portions of the Bible itself were ever written in cuneiform is another question, but it is not impossible. It is certain, however, that anterior to the present Hebrew characters there were others which we find still in inscriptions and on coins, and which are known as the archaic Hebrew characters. When the LXX. version was made the Hebrew copies which the translators used were, at least in parts, in these old Hebrew characters. About the time of the Restoration, 538 B.C., the present square characters were gradually introduced. As the Rabbinic tradition has it "Of old the Law was given to Israel in Hebrew letters, and in the Holy tongue; but it was given again in the days of Esdras in Assyrian letters and in the Aramaic tongue." These words enshrine a tradition that Esdras brought from Babylonia the square characters with which we are familiar in our printed Hebrew Bibles.

Subsequent to the introduction of the square characters, we have to distinguish various stages in the formation of the present Hebrew Bible. Anterior to the formation of the LXX. we find few traces of any 'editing' of the Hebrew Bible, though the Pentateuch was divided into five Books, as also the Psalter. With the arrival of the Greek translations a great change came over the Hebrews. The translation had thrown the Sacred Books open to the public, and criticism soon made itself felt. This was resented, and the fact

of its having been translated, though originally welcomed and its anniversary kept as a public feast, was later bewailed, and the feast changed into a fast. From two references in the New Testament, it is clear that the division into sections, known by the names presumably of the persons or events described in them, were already in use; cf. St. Mark xii. 26, and Romans xi. 2. No *official* text, however, seems, to have existed at the time of Our Lord. This is clear from the divergences of the LXX., from the text given in the Targums, from the Syriac versions, and from the free quotations in the New Testament. At the close of the first century A.D. a Council was held by the Rabbis at Jamnia, in which the Canon was settled and the consonantal text of the Bible fixed, for it must be remembered that the vowels form no part of the Bible, and do not exist in Semitic languages generally. From this Council date the labours of the *Sopherim* or Scribes. To them we owe the separation of the words—for hitherto Hebrew MSS. had been in one continuous script, also the forms of the letters at the end of words, the abolition of abbreviations in the text, the determination of the pronunciation of certain doubtful words, the removal of superfluous particles, also of certain indelicate expressions and seeming blasphemies. To them, too, we owe the 'Q'eri,' or 'reading' of certain passages, as opposed to the 'K'ethibh,' or 'written' text. To these Scribes are also due the 'Extraordinary points,' e.g. in Gen. xviii. 9; the 'inverted nuns,' e.g. Nbs. x. 35-36; and above all, the 'Tiqqun Sopherim' or 'Changes of the Scribes,' viz., passages which they agreed to read differently for dogmatic reasons, e.g. Gen. xviii. 22, Zach. ii. 12.

To the Scribes or Sopherim succeeded the *Massoretes*, or preservers of tradition. They laboured to preserve what the Scribes had bequeathed to them. This they did by inventing the cumbersome but marvellous system of vowels by the aid of which the pronunciation of each word was preserved for ever. To them we owe the accents, the 'daghesh,' the present order of the Prophets in the Hebrew Bibles, the arrangement of the 'Megilloth,' etc.

The oldest MS. of the Hebrew Bible is apparently

a MS. of the Prophets preserved at Cairo, and dating from A.D. 895. After this we have the famous St. Petersburg MS. of A.D. 916; both of these MSS. are peculiar in that they have the superlinear instead of the usual sublinear system of vocalisation.

The Psalter was the first portion of the Hebrew Bible printed, viz. in 1477 at Bologna; the Law appeared in 1482; and the whole Bible in 1488 at Soncino, and again in 1491-2 at Naples. In the Complutensian Polyglot of 1514, an independent Hebrew, text was given. In 1524, Jacob ben Chayyim published another independent Hebrew text; from an admixture of the three foregoing our present printed Hebrew Bibles are formed.

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH. This is the Hebrew Pentateuch in Samaritan characters which are practically the archaic Hebrew letters. It, as well as a Samaritan *version* which must be distinguished from it, was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans in 1616. Some sixteen MSS. of it are known. Its origin is disputed. According to some it dates from the days of the Schism in B.C. 975; their arguments are briefly these: The Pentateuch was known to the Ten Tribes, but after the Schism they would not have accepted it from the hated Judeans. This hatred was maintained by the Samaritans after the Restoration, yet we find them in the time of Esdras desiring to have a part in the building of the Temple. This can only be explained on the supposition that they had the Pentateuch, and it is noteworthy that this latter is in archaic Hebrew characters, and must therefore date from a time antecedent to the introduction of the square characters about the time of Esdras. Others, however, and with greater probability, refer the Samaritan Pentateuch to the days of Darius Codomannus, B.C. 330, and explain its possession by the Samaritans by supposing that it was taken over to them by Manasses the priest who was driven out by Nehemias, xiii. 28; it is pointed out, too, that the Samaritans were not the same as the Ten Tribes, but their successors; that they were anxious to be identified with the Jews, hence their anxiety to share in the building of the Temple; hence, too, their acceptance of the Penta-

teuch only, since all the other Books spoke of David and Sion, and were thus opposed to the claims of Gerizim.

The critical value of the Samaritan Pentateuch is great, the number of discrepancies—many of them only trifling—between the Massoretic Hebrew text and the Samaritan text is enormous; and in many of these the latter agrees with the LXX. with which, too, it appears to have been assimilated—though retaining many peculiar readings of its own. The most probable conclusion from a comparison of the three texts is that each is derived from an earlier form of the Hebrew text than that which we now possess.

THE GREEK TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE. (*a*) The '*Septuagint*' is the title commonly given to the best-known of all the translations of the Old Testament into Greek. This title embodies an old tradition that the translation was the work of seventy-two Jews who were sent to Alexandria for the express purpose of rendering their Sacred writings into Greek at the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 285-247. This story can be traced to its source in a letter purporting to be written by one Aristeas who represents himself as a courtier of Ptolemy II. Aristeas writes to his brother and gives him a description of a journey he had recently made to Jerusalem; in the course of the letter, he tells him that the royal librarian, Demetrius, had so interested the king by his account of the Jewish Scriptures that the latter decided to have a translation made for his library at Alexandria; that the High Priest at Jerusalem acceded to his desire, and sent seventy-two elders to Egypt with a copy of the Law written in gold, and that the task of translation was accomplished in seventy-two days. This story was received without question by many of the Fathers of the Church, and it appears in various forms and with many embellishments.

While the letter is now proved to be a forgery, it at the same time enshrines an undoubted tradition. There was a large Jewish community in Alexandria in the time of Philadelphus, this king was interested in literary questions, and, above all, traces of a Greek version of the Pentateuch can be discovered at least

as far back as the end of the third century B.C. It should be noted, however, that while Aristeas only speaks of the 'Law' as being translated, it seems probable from the Prologue to *Ecclesiasticus* that about the year 130 B.C., the whole Bible existed in Greek. And the existence of a flourishing Jewish community in Alexandria would inevitably lead to the formation of such a translation. For as a generation grew up to whom neither Hebrew nor Aramaic were familiar, the readings from the Sacred Books in the Synagogue would have to be rendered into Greek. The fact that the translation is of unequal value—certain books being very well done, others, e.g. Isaias, being the reverse—fully accords with the view that the origin of the translation must be sought in the needs of the Jewish community. At the same time we must not regard the LXX. version as merely a kind of paraphrase such as are the Aramaic Targums, it is a translation in the true sense of the word, and in many places is slavishly literal, hence its immense importance for the exegete.

(*b*) *Aquila* was a native of Pontus, and is said to have been a kinsman of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 117-135; he supervised the re-building of Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina, after the overthrow of Bar-Cochebah. Originally a pagan, Aquila was converted to Christianity, he then became a Jew, and appears to have been a disciple of the famous Rabbi Akiba, A.D. 95-135. At that date controversy between the Jews and Christians was very keen—we have an example of it in St. Justin's *Dialogue*. The LXX. version was used by the Christians to refute the Jews, but the latter retorted that this version was full of errors, and did not represent the Hebrew text; moreover, the LXX. was not, from the nature of its origin, an official translation, it had grown, and consequently it had not the uniformity of treatment which should mark an official version. Aquila was therefore called upon by the Jews to make an exact translation. This he did in the most servile manner, even translating the Hebrew particles which were merely indicative of cases, etc. Until recently, no remains of this translation were known to us save from fragments of Origen's *Hexapla*, cf. *infra*. In 1897, however, small portions of his ver-

sion of III. Kgs. xx. 9-17, IV. Kgs. xxiii. 12-27, Pss. xci. 6-13, xcii. 4-10, and fragments of Ps. xxii., were discovered as a palimpsest in the Cairo Geniza. These fragments fully justified St. Jerome's account of Aquila's work, cf. *Preface* to the Vulgate translation of the Gospels, *Pref.* to Job, and *Ep.* xxxii.

(*c*) *Theodotion* was apparently a contemporary of Aquila, he is called an Ebionite by St. Jerome. He appears to have revised the LXX. to make it conform to the official text. Only fragments of his work remain, except in the case of his version of Daniel which replaced the LXX. version in the MSS. which have come down to us.

(*d*) *Symmachus* is referred by some to the age of Commodus, 180-192, but was perhaps contemporary with Aquila and Theodotion. Both Symmachus and Theodotion were led to make their translations by the baldness of that of Aquila, hence Symmachus is said to render rather 'sense for sense than word for word'; for St. Jerome's account of these three translators, see his *Pref.* to the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.

ORIGEN'S WORK ON THE GREEK TEXT. The existence of these four versions side by side inevitably led to a great deal of confusion in the Greek text. This was accentuated by the fact, made known to us by Origen, that there also existed no less than three other Greek translations, which he, for convenience' sake, termed the 'fifth,' 'sixth,' and 'seventh' versions, see St. Jerome *Præf. in Chron. Eusebii*; in *Ep.* ad Titum iii. 9; also *Ep.* cvi. In order to remedy this state of things Origen planned and executed an immense work. He arranged the texts in six parallel columns: in the first he put the Hebrew text, in the second the same text transliterated into Greek characters, in the third he put the version of Aquila—presumably as being the most literal translator, in the fourth that of Symmachus —who practically revised Aquila's version, in the fifth Origen put his own revised edition of the LXX., and in the sixth place came the version by Theodotion as being a revision of the LXX. In some parts, particularly in the poetical books, Origen added also the witness of the three other versions referred to above. The bulk of the completed work can be imagined,

it must have numbered at least twelve thousand sheets! The critical portion of Origen's task lay in the preparation of the fifth column. The LXX. differed immensely from the current Hebrew; how were these differences to be estimated and how were they to be presented to the student? It was here that Origen made what we must consider his initial mistake. He assumed that the current Hebrew text was unassailable, hence all his efforts were directed to co-ordinating the LXX. with the existing Hebrew. Passages, then, which appeared in the LXX. but not in the Hebrew he marked with the sign known as the 'obelus,' the close of the passage thus marked as doubtful was indicated by another sign known as the 'metobelus.' Passages which were in the Hebrew but wanting in the LXX. were inserted from Aquila, and marked with an asterisk at the commencement and with a 'metobelus' at the close. The whole work was completed between 240-245 A.D. It was placed, probably by Origen himself, in the great library at Caesarea in Palestine, where St. Jerome, as he tells us more than once, studied it. This library was still existing in the sixth century, but after the destruction of Caesarea by the Saracens in 638 we hear no more of the Hexapla.

The great work thus accomplished proved, however, the fruitful cause of an even greater confusion than that which Origen had set out to remedy. Though the Hexapla itself was too bulky to be reproduced, there was no reason why the column containing the 'corrected' LXX. should not be copied separately, and this was done by Eusebius and Pamphilus the Martyr in the fourth century, cf. especially St. Jerome *Ep.* cvi., and his *Pref.* to Chronicles. But the publication of the separated column rendered the critical signs unintelligible, and copyists were in consequence tempted to omit them, so that an edition of the LXX. became current which was in reality an admixture of the original LXX. text together with the readings derived from Aquila.

Hesychius. About the same time as the publication of the Hexaplaric LXX. in Palestine, a certain Hesychius undertook the revision of the LXX. text current in Egypt, as well as a revision of the New Testament text, see St. Jerome *Pref.* to Chronicles; *adv.*

Ruf. ii.; and *Pref.* to the Gospels. It is probable that we have traces of Hesychius' version in the Coptic versions of the Bible, in the commentaries of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and even, according to Ceriani, in the Cod. Alexandrinus.

Lucian of Antioch, d. 311, made an independent revision of the LXX. text at Antioch, this is referred to by St. Jerome, *Ep.* cvi., as the *koine*, or commonly current text, and as such is repudiated by him, cf. his *Pref.* to Chronicles, and his *Comment.* on Isaias lviii. 11. Lucian's text is probably to be traced in St. Chrysostom and in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, to a certain extent also in the Complutensian Polyglot; it became the standard text of Antioch and Constantinople.

The Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tella is referred to the years 616-617 by a note appended to one of the rolls. It is a servile translation into Syriac of Origen's LXX. column; its early date and its servility to the original make it of great value. It is of especial interest from the fact that in the second volume, still preserved at Milan, we have the Syriac version of Daniel according to the LXX., a translation which was displaced from the LXX. by that of Theodotion.

The existence, then, of all these editions and translations has tended to complicate the study of the Greek versions of the Bible we now possess, and has made it an almost hopeless task to attempt to restore the original LXX. text.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK BIBLE. These may be divided into three classes, (*a*) Papyri, (*b*) Uncial MSS., i.e., those written in capitals, (*c*) Cursive MSS., i.e., those written in a running hand. It has long been the custom to draw a hard and fast line between the two latter classes of MSS., but it is beginning to be recognised that such a procedure is in no way justified.

As far as class (*a*) is concerned it is at present only too scantily represented; the oldest MSS. of the Bible which we possess are a papyrus containing Gen. xiv. 17, and another giving Pss. xii. 7—xv. 4, both of these are in the British Museum. A fourth century papyrus also contains the Hexaplar text of Ezechiel

v. 12—vi. 3, this is valuable as preserving Origen's obeli. Third century fragments of St. John's Gospel as well as very early fragments of St. Matthew and also of Genesis, have been recovered from Egypt during the last few years; there is literally no knowing what surprises may be in store for us from this source; at present, however, the papyri form an almost negligible quantity among the critical apparatus of the Biblical text. In class (*b*) the principal Codices of the LXX. are the following:—

Codex Vaticanus, known as B. The early history of this MS. is unknown, it is thought by some to be one of the copies furnished for Constantine by Eusebius, see *Vita Const.* iv. 36. Palaeographers have no hesitation in attributing it to the fourth century, perhaps to the middle of it. This codex contained the whole Greek Bible save the four Books of Maccabees; it is almost complete even now, though mutilated in parts. It has no breathings, points are rare, accents are hardly ever given by the first hand, though some have been added by the correctors. It is written on vellum in beautiful penmanship. There are three columns on each page, an arrangement to which Eusebius, *l. c.* may refer.

Codex Sinaiticus, known as *Aleph*. The recovery of this precious MS. by Tischendorf forms one of the most romantic pages of the story of textual criticism. He rescued it in fragments discovered in the course of several expeditions to the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. It once embraced the whole Bible but is now considerably mutilated. It is written on vellum, and has four columns on a page, see Eusebius *l. c. supra*. Experts assign it to the fourth century. There are, with one exception, no breathings or accents due to the first hand. Many correctors have worked over the MS., some as late as the seventh century. No uniform edition has yet been published. It contains the four Books of Maccabees. It is preserved partly at Leipsic and partly at St. Petersburg.

Codex Alexandrinus, known as A, the treasure of the British Museum. It was presented to James I. by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria and, later, of Constantinople. It is said to have been written by

one, Thecla, whose identity is uncertain. The MS. differs from the preceding in that it contains tables of the Books, also of the Psalms for morning and evening. It has, too, a certain amount of extraneous matter in the shape of the Epistle of St. Athanasius to Marcella on the Psalms. The Psalter also has the spurious Ps. cli. The text is written on vellum and has two columns to the page. There are no breathings or accents by the first hand. It is very possible that the MS. was written in Egypt, and in the fifth century. The text has been corrected more than once. The tables show that the Psalms of Solomon once had a place in the MS. The New Testament is complete save for Matth. i-xxv. 6; John vi. 50—viii. 52; II. Cor. iv. 13—xii. 7. At the end are added the two Epistles of St. Clement of Rome.

Codex Ephraimi Rescriptus, known as C. This MS. is a palimpsest, its original writing was defaced in order that the vellum might be used for copying some works of St. Ephraim. The underlying Biblical text was written probably in Egypt and in the fifth century. In the Old Testament portion we have only detached fragments of the Sapiential Books and Job. About three fifths of the New Testament is left. The text is written in single columns.

Codex Marchalianus, known as Q. This codex is of the greatest interest for the student of the LXX. text, for while the actual text is that of Hesychius, the margin contains a number of variants from Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the Hexapla LXX. Unfortunately it only gives the Prophets. The MS. is preserved at the Vatican, and was published in magnificent form by Ceriani in 1890.

THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE. (*a*) The *Old Latin* version is commonly known as the *Itala*, a term which should, however, be avoided as it is apt to mislead. The origin of this translation is involved in much obscurity. The *Acts* of the Scillitan martyrs, who suffered between A.D. 198 & 202 at Carthage, exist in a Latin text which is generally accepted as genuine. These martyrs told the prefect that they possessed the 'Four Gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Epistles

of St. Paul, and all divinely inspired Scripture.' These *Acts* may thus prove the existence of an accepted Latin text in Africa before the close of the second century. Similarly, the martyrs of Vienne who died A.D. 177 seem certainly to have known a Latin version from which they quote freely, cf. *H. E.* v. 1. It is generally conceded now that Tertullian had a version in Latin before him as he wrote, and that he did not merely translate for himself from Greek as he required.* Hence it is allowable to suppose that a Latin version of the Bible existed early in the second century.

Origin of the Old Latin. Ever since the days of Card. Wiseman, the view that there was one original translation of the Bible into Latin, and that it took its rise in Africa, has been held by many as almost demonstrated, see *Two Essays on I. John v.* 7. Wiseman's arguments were chiefly these: (1) There was no need for a Latin translation in Rome, for it was a Greek-speaking city. (2) St. Jerome only knew of two Latins who wrote in Latin previous to Tertullian, viz., Apollonius and Victor, the latter of whom died A.D. 197. (3) There are many Africanisms in the old Latin version, (4) Wiseman urged that the divergences existing between the existing old Latin MSS. could all be reduced to a common basis and merely indicated the vagaries of copyists. Every one of these statements has been controverted and it now seems fairly certain that various Latin renderings were published in the early days of Christianity. Thus, as against Wiseman's arguments, it is maintained that (1) The 'Plebs' in Rome would certainly need a Latin translation. (2) Inscriptions at Pompeii and Herculaneum are mostly in Latin, this is especially the case with the Christian inscriptions. (3) The argument from 'Africanisms' is precarious, for all the examples alleged can be paralleled from the writings of undoubted Latins, e.g. Plautus, Quinctilian, etc., thus the Latin translation of the works of St. Irenæus and the *Canon of Muratori* contain as many 'Africanisms' as do the old Latin

* Mangenot's recent investigation of this question has, however, made it exceedingly doubtful whether Tertullian had a Latin translation before him; *cf.* E. Mangenot: *Patrie et Date de la Première Version Latine du Nouveau Testament 1911.*

MSS. (4) It is almost impossible to concede Wiseman's position with regard to the fundamental unity of the existing MSS. (5) We actually have different Old Latin translations of Tobias, Baruch, and I-II. Maccabees. Lastly, it must be conceded that St. Augustine's well-known words about the multiplicity of Latin texts can hardly be explained save of different translations; he says, *De Doctrina Christ.* II. 14-15, "The writers who translated from Hebrew into Greek can be counted; not so those who translated into Latin. For whenever in the early ages of the faith a Greek codex came into a person's hands, and he fancied he had sufficient knowledge of the two languages to do so, he ventured to make a translation." These words cannot without undue violence be read in any but their plain sense. And a perusal of the Saint's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, especially on the CXVIIIth Psalm, will convince any one that he really did mean that there were a crowd of early translators. The witness of St. Jerome fully accords with this, it is true that his words in the *Pref.* to the Gospels are ambiguous, but a comparison of other passages shows the view he took of the question, cf. *Prefs.* to Proverbs, to Chronicles, and to Job, also *Ep.* xviii. 21.

Principal MSS. of the Old Latin Versions. We have no complete MS. of any one book of the Old Testament except the Psalter; fragments of the rest exist and have been collected by Sabatier. The *Cod. Lugdunesis* published in 1881, and fresh portions in 1895, by Robert and Delisle, is practically complete for the Pentateuch, Josue, and part of Judges.

St. Jerome's Life and Work. No true view of the Vulgate version of the Bible could be formed without some idea of the life and work of one who has been ever acknowledged as the greatest Biblical scholar the world has seen and who was undoubtedly raised up by God to do the work which will always be associated with his name, viz., the *revision* of the Latin New Testament, and the *translation* of the Hebrew original of the Old Testament into Latin.

Born at Strido in Dalmatia about the year 345, Jerome was early sent to Rome for his education. He was baptized at the age of twenty, and in 372 he went to the east, where he took up his abode in the desert

of Chalcis, and devoted himself to the study of Hebrew and Greek, *Ep.* cxxv. 12. In *Ep.* lxxxiv. 3, he gives us an account of his earlier studies. In 379 we find him at Constantinople, where he attended the lectures of St. Gregory of Nyssa. About this time, too, he translated the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. It was at this time that he became acquainted with Pope Damasus, at whose request he wrote *Ep.* xviii. on the meaning of the word 'Seraphim.' Damasus summoned him to Rome in 382, and here, at the Pope's desire, he corrected the N.T. by the Greek: "Only early manuscripts," he wrote to Pope Damasus, "have been used. But to avoid any great divergences from the Latin which we are accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint; and while I have corrected only such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are," cf. also *Praef. in Quatuor Evangelia*, *Ep.* xxvii. It was at this time, too, that he made his first revision of the Psalter by the Greek text, this is known as the *Roman Psalter*. He refers to this edition in his *Preface* to his second revision of the Psalter, probably made at Bethlehem about 388. He says in this *Preface* that he had made his former revision cursorily according to the LXX., (Ep. cvi. shews that it was made from the Hexaplar of Origen); the second revision was also made according to the LXX., but attention was paid to the variations between that text and the Hebrew, and *obeli* and asterisks were introduced in order to indicate these discrepancies. This revision is known as the *Gallican Psalter*, because, becoming speedily popular, it was introduced into the Churches of Gaul by St. Gregory of Tours; it is the Psalter which is now in use throughout the Church save in St. Peter's at Rome, St. Mark's at Venice, and the Duomo at Milan, where the former revision is still used.

But St. Jerome was already becoming convinced of the necessity of recurring to the Hebrew original if the true sense of the Sacred Scriptures was to be apprehended. In 381-2 he had translated the *Chronicle* of Eusebius and in his *Preface* he dwells upon the difficulties besetting all translations; "some," he says, "consider the Sacred Writings harsh, not being

aware that they are a translation from the Hebrew." In this same *Preface*, written at this early date, he shows a full knowledge of the work done by the early translators, viz., the Seventy, Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila, and even of those translations which, since the days of Origen, had passed current under the titles of 'the fifth, sixth, and seventh' versions.

In 385, Jerome, who had made many enemies by his outspoken criticism, left Rome on the death of Damasus, and in 386 we find him settled at Bethlehem where he remained till his death in 420. His life here was one of unremitting labour, Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* i. 8, says of him, "totus in lectione, totus in libris est; non die non nocte requiescit; aut legit aliquid semper aut scribit." His activity at this period seems almost incredible. Between the years 386 and 392, he completed his commentary on Ecclesiastes, he translated the work of Didymus on the Holy Spirit, he wrote commentaries on Ephesians, Galatians, Titus, and Philemon, a treatise on Pss. x-xvi., he translated Origen on St. Luke and on the Psalms; he further translated Eusebius on *The Names of Hebrew Places*, also the *Book of Hebrew Proper Names*, and that on *Hebrew Questions in Genesis;* he wrote the *Lives* of SS. Malchus and Hilarion, and the invaluable treatise *De Viris Illustribus*. But, more wonderful than all, he appears—from repeated allusions in his writings—to have at this time revised the whole Septuagint (he always speaks of the existing Latin translation of the Old Testament by this name) by Origen's Hexaplar. The only portions of this gigantic task which have come down to us are Job and the Psalter; the rest, so he tells us, was stolen from his locker; cf. *Ep.* lxxi. 5, Contra Ruf. ii. 24, and iii. 25. At the same time it must be noticed that this revision, as he tells us in his *Preface to the Books of Solomon*, did not include Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, an assertion which clearly implies that he did revise all the rest, cf. *Ep.* cxxxiv. We must also assign to this period the commencement of his greatest work, viz., the translation of the whole of the Hebrew Bible into Latin. For this task his previous studies had prepared him as no Biblical scholar before or since ever has been prepared. He took immense pains to perfect himself

in his knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldaic, and has left us an amusing account of the trouble it cost him to acquire a real mastery over these languages, cf. his *Prefaces* to Job and Daniel, and to his commentary on the Galatians.

Origen had attempted the task of editing a critical edition of the LXX. by comparing it with the Hebrew, St. Jerome had attempted to do the same for the Latin version by comparing it with the Greek; but his efforts in this direction soon convinced him that the LXX. was a hopeless criterion owing to the various translations which had been made and which had so mutually affected one another that it was now impossible to arrive with any certainty at the original LXX. text. Hence he felt compelled to go—as he expresses it—'to the fountainhead,' cf. *Pref.* to the *Book of Hebrew Questions*, and also *Pref.* to his commentary on Ecclesiastes.

St. Jerome had received no commission to translate the Hebrew text such as he had received from Pope Damasus with regard to the correction of the New Testament. His work was private and without authority. The story of its gradual publication is of interest as showing the lines on which he worked. In the catalogue of his works which he gives in the *De viris Illustribus*, he says: 'The Old Testament I have translated in accordance with the Hebrew'; this was in 392. He seems to have intended publishing the whole at one time, cf. *Pref.* to the translation of Samuel and Kings *(Prol. Galeatus)*, but it appears from *Ep.* xlix. 4, that the translation of Samuel and Kings was published first and was immediately followed by that of the sixteen Prophets. This was in 393, and from the same letter we learn that he had also translated Job at that time but that other portions already translated were withheld by him from publication for the time being, presumably till he should see what kind of reception those met with which had already been put in circulation. Esdras and Nehemias were published in the following year, see *Pref.* to these books, and, apparently at the same time, Genesis, see *Pref.* to that Book. A long illness, and the invasion of the Huns, caused delay, and it is not till 395 that we find him writing to Chromatius and Heliodorus that at their request

he has "dedicated to them three days' work, viz., the translation of the three Books of Solomon," i.e., Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticle of Canticles. This gives us some idea of his rate of working; we are not to gather from it that he was slip-shod in his work, his long and intimate acquaintance with the Bible, as well as his revision of the Latin by the LXX., had given him an immense facility; moreover it appears from many passages that he always worked with the assistance of a number of amanuenses. Again illness supervened, and in 398 we find him writing to Lucinius, a Spaniard, that he has put at the disposal of the copyists whom Lucinius has sent to Bethlehem to make copies of Jerome's works, 'the canon of the Hebrew verity—except the Octateuch, which I have at present in hand.' By the 'Octateuch' he means the first eight Books and it is not easy to understand how he can say this since Genesis had already been published —save on the supposition that he was engaged in revising his former translation, *Ep.* lxxi. 5. A gap of some five years now intervened, and it was not until 404 that the work was completed by the publication of the rest of the Pentateuch and Esther, see *Prefaces* to Josue and Esther.

Reception of the New Translation by the Church. St. Jerome's work met with much opposition. St. Augustine's attitude towards it is generally represented as adverse, but this is not a fair view of the African Bishop's position. He held the LXX. in the deepest respect, and hence urged St. Jerome to devote his labour rather to a revision of that version than to the publication of a new one, cf. *Ep.* civ. among those of St. Jerome. As a matter of fact St. Augustine's intense love for Holy Scripture compelled him to recognise the immense value of St. Jerome's labours. Thus it has been shown that in the church at Hippo during St. Augustine's episcopate, the Gospels were, from 400 onwards, read according to St. Jerome's correction; and further, while adhering to the old Latin version of the Old Testament, St. Augustine could and did use the new rendering for the sake of its excellence, thus *De Doctrina Christiana*, iv. 16, he quotes Amos vi. 1-16 from St. Jerome's version, 'not according to the Seventy . . . who are

sometimes obscure (by the 'seventy' he of course means the Old Latin version) . . . but according to the Latin translation made from the Hebrew by the priest Jerome, who is most skilled in either language.' It is not impossible indeed that when St. Augustine in the same treatise, *De Doct. Christ.* ii. 22, says 'Of all these renderings the Itala is to be preferred, since it adheres more closely to the words (of the original), and gives the sense more clearly,' he may be referring to the Vulgate version made by St. Jerome; it is certainly remarkable that the very same words are used by St. Isidore of Seville, 636, *De Offic. Eccles.* i. 12, and later by Walafrid Strabo; both of these writers would seem to be quoting St. Augustine, and both are clearly referring to the Vulgate version.

Be this as it may, the version gradually made its way, and in St. Gregory the Great's *Preface* to his *Moralia in Job*, we find him saying that he uses either translation indifferently; while St. Bede, in the eighth century, speaks of it as 'our version.'

Subsequent History of the Vulgate. The old and the new versions existed side by side, and the inevitable result followed—each affected the other. Those who were familiar with the older version were tempted to write in the margins of their copies of the more recent one readings which they remembered from the version to which they had been so long accustomed. A revision was soon necessary, and in all cases it was not a correction of St. Jerome's work that was demanded but a restoration of existing copies to the state in which they left his hands. This work was attempted by Alcuin in about 800, by Lanfranc about 1089, by St. Stephen Harding about 1150. The revision by Alcuin, undertaken for Charlemagne, was the most important of all these attempts at recovering St. Jerome's original text. The MSS. then existing may be conveniently divided into three classes, those from Italy, those from Spain, and those from Ireland. All these types of MSS. met at Tours, where Alcuin worked. The product was the set of Bibles known as the 'Alcuinian,' conspicuous among which is the famous *Cod. Vallicellanus,* cf. *infra,* Alcuin went to Northumbria for Bibles, for it was there that St. Benet

Biscop and the Abbot Ceolfrid had formed a famous *scriptorium* and had gathered together most precious MSS., such as the *Cod. Amiatinus*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and those of *Durham* and *Stonyhurst*, cf. *infra*.

The 'Correctories' of the Bible. At the commencement of the thirteenth century the newly-founded University of Paris took one particular Alcuinian text of the Vulgate as the basis for lectures. This text was unfortunately a bad one as it had been vitiated in its passage through the hands of a multitude of copyists. The University authorities multiplied it, however, and its success seems to have been due in great measure to the chapter-divisions drawn up, according to some by Stephen Langton, according to others by the Dominican, Cardinal Hugo à St. Caro. Its defects, however, were known, and the theologians using it corrected it as occasion arose. These 'corrections' were at first placed in the margins, but as they grew in bulk they were gathered into separate books which received the title of 'Correctories.' No less than three hundred of these manuscript 'Correctories' remain. The best known are the Correctory of the Sorbonne and that of Sens, otherwise known as the 'Paris Correctory.' This latter is of great interest by reason of the principles which guided its compilers. It was not an attempt to recover the text of the Vulgate as it left St. Jerome's hands, but rather to correct the existing Vulgate text by the Greek and Hebrew originals; thus Card. Hugo, who was mainly responsible for its production, says: "In many books, especially the historical, we do not use the translation of Jerome." It is interesting to note the enactments of the early Dominican General Chapters with regard to the Bibles to be used in the Order; thus the Chapter of 1236 says "all Bibles in the Order are to be corrected according to the *Correctory* of the (Dominican) Province of France"; in the Chapter of 1256, the Correctory of Sens is rejected as being an insufficient correction of the Bible of the University of Paris. We possess three autograph *correctories* which belonged to the famous Convent of St. Jacques at Paris, and which probably date from this same year, 1256. No doubt the principle here at work was a false one from the point of view of those who at all costs would preserve

the translation of St. Jerome, and Roger Bacon condemns it unsparingly, cf. *Opus Minus*, p. 330; *opus Tertium* i. 94, cap. xxv. The Franciscans proceeded on different lines, and in the Vatican we have the well-known "*Correctorium Vaticanum*," produced by a learned Franciscan scholar who was well versed in Greek and Latin, and whose aim was to restore as far as possible the text of St. Jerome.

It is clear from this brief sketch of the various attempted revisions and corrections that the Vulgate text had, by the time of the invention of printing, got into an exceedingly bad state; and when the printing-press came into vogue the confusion grew greater still, though ultimately the printing-press was to prove a valauble means for securing an uniform text. During the first half century after the invention of printing no less than one hundred and twenty-four editions of the Latin Bible were published—perhaps the very best refutation of the old calumny that the Church reprobated the publication of the Bible. The most famous of these early editions was that known as the 'Mazarin' Bible in two volumes, it was printed by Guttenburg at Mentz, twenty-five copies of it are still existing. The first Roman edition dates from 1471, and the first octavo edition appeared from Froben's printing-press at Basle in 1491. How numerous were these early editions is evident from the fact that even now copies which date from 1484-1497 are not rare.

But the multiplication of copies brought into clearer light the discrepancies which existed, and the first definite attempt at a revision appeared in the *Complutensian Polyglot* of 1514. About the same time Erasmus, in his edition of the Greek Testament, gave a Latin translation of his own with notes on the Vulgate translation. In 1528, Robert Stephens, or Etienne, published an edition of the Vulgate New Testament for the production of which he used three codices of the ninth century; in a later edition, A.D. 1538-1540, he used seventeen MSS., some of these are good MSS., and the edition then published is regarded as the foundation of the present Vulgate New Testament. Meanwhile a host of Catholic scholars were at work, correcting the Vulgate New Testament

by the Greek; among these we may mention Card. Cajetan, O.P., and Steuchius in 1529, and the Dominican Santes Pagninus, 1518-1528.

The Action of the Council of Trent. The discovery of printing, the flooding of Europe with MSS. due to the fall and sack of Constantinople, as well as the general renaissance, had brought a multitude of abuses in their train, not the least of which was the incautious multiplication of Biblical texts together with rash and misguided criticism on their contents. In the Session held on March 17th, 1546, the Fathers of Trent specially singled out four abuses regarding the Bible, which called for immediate remedy. These were (*a*) the variety of texts in circulation; (*b*) the great corruption prevailing in the printed editions; (*c*) the perverse principles of interpretation; (*d*) the reckless propagation of the Bible. As a remedy for the first-named abuse they proposed that of *all the Latin* versions the Vulgate alone should be declared 'authentic.' cf. *infra*. As a remedy for the second abuse, viz., the corruption of the Vulgate text, they urged that an edition of the Vulgate—purified from the corruptions which had crept into it in the course of centuries—should be brought out as speedily as possible. There is no doubt that the Tridentine Fathers had only very vague ideas as to the labour which the production of such a revised edition would involve, they seem to have thought that it could be done during the Sessions of the Council! There were scholars, however, who, while fully alive to the difficulties of the task, were yet competent to deal with them. John Hentenius, a Dominican of Louvain, set to work at once and in the course of one year produced the *Louvain Bible*. This was in 1547, and between the years 1573 and 1594, no less than nine editions of this Bible were produced. Hentenius used the best of Stephen's editions, see above, and added readings from thirty other MSS. On his death, Luke of Bruges, a Franciscan, was chosen to continue Hentenius' task; he added readings from sixty fresh MSS. The troubles of the times caused a suspension of the sittings of the Council, and a series of vexatious delays retarded the work of revision. Some of the revisers, too, preferred to go slowly, thus we find that between April 28th and Dec.

7th, 1569, twenty-six sessions were held, during which the text of Genesis-Exodus alone was examined. But there can be little doubt that this slow procedure was an ultimate gain, men's minds were forming, and the huge mass of material was sifted by passing through the hands of the successive members of the various commissions; and each commission profited by the labours of its predecessors. It is customary for writers who have not read the *acta* of the Council, and who have not troubled to take into account the stormy period during which its sittings were held, to make merry over the forty odd years which elapsed between the promulgation of the Decree for the publication of an emended Vulgate and the actual appearance of the volume. But no scholar who has followed the slow and cautious progress of the *Oxford Vulgate* will sneer at the slow procedure of the Tridentine revisers—the *Oxford Vulgate*, it may be remarked in passing, was commenced in 1877, and now, 1912, the Gospels, Acts, and Romans have alone been published!*

At length, however, in 1568, Sixtus V. became supreme Pontiff, and at once proceeded to push forward the work of revision. The commission appointed by this Pope set to work in a methodical manner. It is interesting to note the MSS. which they consulted; in Rome they examined the famous *Codex* preserved in the library of St. Paul's 'without the walls,' also the *Cod. Ottoboniensis*, and the *Cod. Vallicellianus* preserved at the Oratorian Church—the Chiesa Nuova. They also examined MSS. preserved in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and, above all, the famous *Cod. Amiatinus* now at Florence in the Laurentian library. They also sent to Spain for collations of MSS.; amongst others, the *Codd. Toletanus* and *Legionensis* were thus examined. All this shows that the revisers were well acquainted with what are even now conceded to be the best MSS. of the Latin Bible. Laelius collated the various readings thus discovered; Agellius compared the difficult texts with the originals, Hebrew and Greek; and at the public sessions,

* A compendious edition of the whole New Testament has now been published: *Novum Testamentum Latine*, ed. White; *Editio Minor* Clarendon Press, 1911.

over which Card. Carafa presided, the readings chosen after discussion were inserted in the margin of a copy of the 'Louvain Bible.' This copy still exists and is known as the *Codex Carafa*. This work occupied the commissioners two years. The goal at which they aimed was, be it remembered, the restoration of the Vulgate as it left St. Jerome's hands. They consulted the best Codices as far as they knew them, and posterity with all its research has seen no reason to reverse their judgement as to which were the best Codices, though of course nowadays we have far more material at our disposal than the Tridentine Fathers had. When the witness of the MSS. disagreed they had recourse to the versions and to the early Fathers; and when these two aids failed them they went to the original texts, Hebrew or Greek for the Old and New Testaments respectively. But in this last case recourse was had to the originals—not in order to correct the Vulgate—but to avoid any ambiguity.

The Bible thus prepared differed in many instances from the 'Louvain Bible,' not because—as is often supposed—the revisers, who had laid it down as a canon to compare St. Jerome's translation with the Hebrew, corrected this translation by the Hebrew, but because they attached immense importance to the witness of the *Cod. Gothicus* or *Legionensis*. We referred above to a certain Lucinius, a Spaniard, who had sent copyists to Bethlehem to make copies of St. Jerome's works, and we quoted a passage from *Ep.* lxxi., in which St. Jerome says that he has provided Lucinius' envoys with copies of all his translations of the Old Testament save the first eight books. The revisers under Carafa were convinced that in the *Cod. Legionensis* they had the nearest approach to these copies sent to Spain; hence, in endeavouring to arrive at the nearest approach to St. Jerome's Vulgate, they felt that the witness of this particular codex must have preponderating authority. This fact shows how tenaciously the revisers adhered to the Tridentine Decree which demanded an accurate *edition* of the Vulgate, not a *correction* of it.

But when the revisers presented their completed work to Sixtus he declined to rank the *Cod. Gothicus* or *Legionensis* so highly as they had done; hence

while he made a 'delectus' of the proposed readings he refused to accept them 'en bloc.' Whether the Sixtine revisers were justified or not in the estimate they had formed of the value of *Legionensis* is a moot question; certain it is that in inserting its readings into the margin of the Louvain Bible, they changed the character of the latter very considerably. Sixtus, however, preferred to go by the consensus of the Latin Bibles rather than allow a preponderating authority to any one codex. Consequently the Sixtine Vulgate, which was finally published in 1590, did not really represent the views of the revisers so much as the personal predilections of the Pope. It is well to understand this for much capital has been made by controversial writers out of the conflict between Sixtus and Bellarmine on this point. The Sixtine Vulgate was exceedingly well printed. It is true that we often read accounts of the shocking way in which it was brought out, and are told that it was so full of misprints that the Pope had to paste over an immense number of places with bits of paper in order to hide the printers' errors! Nothing could be further from the truth. There are only forty misprints in the whole edition and of these Sixtus detected thirty, which—it is true—he did paste over in the way described. In the first edition of the Clementine Vulgate there were at least eighty misprints. The completed Bible was published with the famous Encyclical *Aeternus Ille* prefixed to it; in this Encyclical the Pope declares that the edition now published was not to be tampered with on any account: it is often asserted that Clement VIII., who published his revised edition in 1592, disregarded this Encyclical. Yet to every Catholic it should be perfectly plain that Sixtus only prohibited *unauthorised* persons from making changes in the edition he was publishing, he could never have meant that no successor of his in the See of Peter was to make changes in the text.

Sixtus died in August 1590. Urban VII. succeeded him, but died in the same year. Before the close of the year Gregory XIV. was elected, but unfortunately Card. Carafa, who had worked so strenuously for the revision, died almost at the same time. A new commission was immediately constituted; it consisted of

seven Cardinals, with the elder Card. Colonna at their head, together with eleven consultors, of whom the principal were Card. Allen, Miranda—the Master of the Sacred Palace, Bellarmine, Agellius, Morinus, and Rocca. They commenced their sittings in October 1591, at Zagorola whither Card. Colonna took them in order to secure complete retirement.

No doubt Sixtus had given offence to the members of Card. Carafa's commission by his disregard of their conclusions, and no doubt, too, he had acted hurriedly in adopting certain changes, but we must not be too ready to condemn—as so many do—this great and learned Pontiff. The following brief account of the events which led to the publication of our present Clementine Vulgate will serve to bring into clearer light the real value of the Sixtine edition and also to prove that Sixtus was not the hasty, ill-advised corrector he is generally represented as being.

A commission was formed, as we have seen, immediately after the death of Urban VII. Rumours were rife regarding the relations between Sixtus and Carafa's commission, and it was felt on all sides that they must be set at rest by the speedy publication of an emended edition of the Vulgate. Bellarmine in his autobiography, writes as follows: "In the year 1591, when Gregory XIV. was thinking over what should be done with regard to the Bible published by Sixtus V.—in which there were very many unfortunate changes (permulta perperam mutata)—there were not wanting serious-minded men who felt that the aforesaid Bibles ought to be publicly withdrawn. But I showed the Pope that it would be better not to prohibit them, but, to save the honour of Pope Sixtus, to publish them in corrected form. I pointed out to him that this could be managed if these unfortunate changes were corrected as soon as possible, and if the said Bibles were reprinted under Sixtus' name with a Preface saying that in Sixtus' first edition—owing to the haste with which it was produced—some errors, either of the printers or of others, had crept in." Bellarmine then remarks that in giving this advice he had rendered Sixtus good for evil since the latter had put a work of Bellarmine's on the Index! He then adds, "This advice was accepted by the Pontiff, and he ordered the

formation of a commission which should at once revise the Sixtine Bible, and make it conform to the 'ordinary' Bible, especially to that of Louvain."

Two questions at once present themselves: what was wrong in the Sixtine Bibles? What, in other words, were the 'permulta perperam mutata' of which Bellarmine speaks? And how—considering that Sixtus is said to have preferred the witness of the Louvain Bibles to the conclusions arrived at by Carafa's commission—can Bellarmine say that the Sixtine Bible is to be now made to conform to these same Louvain Bibles?

We must carefully distinguish the three steps by which our present Clementine Bible was arrived at. First there came the Sixtine commission appointed to prepare a Vulgate text; their labours resulted in the production of the *Codex Carafa* or, as we have seen, the Louvain Bible furnished with marginal variants derived from an examination of other MSS. of the Vulgate and from a study of the original texts. The next step was Pope Sixtus' examination of this Codex, and his acceptance or rejection of some of its conclusions, the result of his examination being the publication of the Sixtine Bible, but on principles which the members of the commission resented. What then, in the minds of these commissioners, was wrong with the Sixtine Bible? Bellarmine says that there were in it 'many unfortunate changes,' and in his *Preface* to the Clementine edition says that Sixtus himself noticed that there were many misprints, and consequently proposed to reprint the whole, but was prevented by death. In his declaration to Pope Gregory given above, Bellarmine goes much further and says that these errors were due to the printers *or others*, and it is hard not to see in the words 'or others' an allusion to Sixtus himself.

If we now compare the Sixtine and the Clementine editions, we shall find that the latter differs from the former in no less than 2134 places. But among these only 40 rank as misprints, and of these latter Sixtus himself corrected 30. It is evident then that the remaining 10 cannot justify Bellarmine's assertion that there were 'many unfortunate changes.' When we turn to the rules laid down for the commission formed

by Gregory XIV., we find that the first ran: 'ut ablata restituantur,' i.e., that words or passages found in the 'ordinary' and 'Louvain' Bibles, but omitted in the Sixtine, should be restored to it; the second rule was 'ut adjecta removeantur'; the third 'ut immutata considerentur'; the fourth 'ut punctationes perpendantur'; the fifth declares that no change is to be made without necessity, and that when doubts occur about any particular reading, recourse is to be had to the oldest MSS. and then to the Hebrew and Greek originals, and to the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. In the MS. notes of Angelo Rocca—the Secretary of the commission—we find the mode of procedure stated as follows: there were to be three meetings a week, the text was to be read aloud to the members of the commission; when readings differ 'recourse is to be had to the Louvain Bibles and to the Hebrew and Greek, and to the notes from MSS. collected into one volume and now in the palace of Card. Carafa, of happy memory'; if a decision cannot be arrived at the case is to be brought before a general meeting of the commission. And in case a decision cannot then be arrived at, recourse is to be had to the Supreme Pontiff.

What, then, were the 'ablata,' 'adjecta,' and 'immutata' which called for correction in the Sixtine edition? As far as can be discovered the only omissions which Sixtus thought fit to make were justified by the witness of the Louvain Bibles which he followed. Thus he omitted the notes inserted by St. Jerome in the Books of Esther and Daniel to indicate that certain passages did not exist in the Hebrew text; these were re-inserted by the Gregorian revisers. Many other passages were also omitted by him though occurring in the 'ordinary'* and Louvain Bibles—but the Gregorian revisers did not find it necessary to re-insert them. Again, no one has ever succeeded in showing that Sixtus made uncritical changes, though it is possible that at times he relied too exclusively on the application of critical principles as opposed to MSS. evidence. Nor should it be thought that Sixtus, be-

* By the term "'ordinary' Bibles" was meant the edition of the Vulgate with the 'ordinary' or 'common' Gloss, a species of running commentary drawn from the writing of the Fathers.

cause he did not give in his adherence to the *Codex Carafa* to the same extent as its framers had done, was therefore opposed to it, he used it largely and in many cases adopted its readings. But perhaps the most striking proof of the real value of the Sixtine edition lies in the fact that when at length it was felt that the Gregorian commission was not proceeding as fast as could be wished, and a new commission was formed for the purpose of bringing their work to a close, the whole Bible was revised in the incredibly short space of nineteen days! This could not have been done had Sixtus' edition needed so much emendation as is commonly supposed. The story of this final revision is of interest. A MS., probably due to Rocca, informs us that for this special commission were chosen Card. Mark Antony Colonna and Card. Allen; to assist them the most learned members of the commission already existing were singled out, viz., Bartholomew Miranda, O.P., Master of the Sacred Palace, Andreas Salvener, Antony Agellius, Robert Bellarmine—not yet Cardinal, Valverde, Laelius, Morinus, and Rocca. These the Card. Colonna took out to his seat at Zagorola, and there they lived at his expense and completed the work of revision in nineteen days. This wonderful performance is commemorated by an inscription still existing at Zagorola; we give it in full as it is too little known.

Gregorius. XIV. P.M.
De. Incorrupta. Sacrorum. Bibliorum. Puritate. Sollicitus.
Textum. Vulgatæ. Editionis. Sedente. Prædecessore. Suo. Sixto. V.
Typis. Vaticanis. Indiligenter. Excusum.
A. Pluribus. Quæ. Irrepserant. Mendis. Expurgari Pristinoque. Nitori. Restitui. Curavit.
Delectis. In. Hunc. Scopum.
Atque. Zagorolum. Missis. Clarissimis. Viris.
Bartolomæo. Miranda. Andrea. Salvener.
Antonio. Agellio. Roberto. Bellarmino. Joanne. De-Valverde.
Lelio. Lando. Petro. Morino. Et. Angelo. Rocca.
Additis. Etiam. Doctrina. Non. Minus. Quam. Digni-
Eminentissimis. Cardinalibus. [tate.

Marco. Antonio. Columna. Et. Gulielmo. Alano.
Qui. Pontificiæ. Obsequentes. Voluntati.
Anno. MDLXXXXI.
Communibus. Collatis, Animadversionibus. Et. Notis.
Opus. Insigne.
Et. Catholicæ. Religionis. Maxime. Salutare.
Assiduo. Seduloque. XIX. Dierum. Labore.
His. Ipsis. In. Aedibus. Perfecerunt.
Ne. Tantæ. Rei. Notitia. Aliquando. Periret.
Clemens. Dominicus. Rospigliosus.
Clemens. IX. P. O. M.
Ex. Fratre. Pronepos. Zagorolensium. Dux.
Monumentum. Posuit.
Anno. Salutis. MDCCXXIII.

But the troubles of the revisers were not yet over. Hardly had they completed their task than Gregory XIV. died, October 15th, 1591. Innocent IX. was elected a fortnight later but died before the end of the year. Little more than a month later, however, Clement VIII. was elected. He determined to bring the labours of the successive commissions to an end, and for this purpose he entrusted the task of final revision to Cardinals Valerius of Verona and Frederick Borromeo, and also to Francis Toletus, S.J., afterwards Cardinal. The work of revision fell almost wholly on the shoulders of the latter. There exists in the Vatican library a copy of the Sixtine Vulgate, in the margin of which Toletus has marked all the corrections which he felt to be necessary. His references are to the Hebrew originals, to the LXX., to the Complutensian Vulgate, to the 'Biblia Regia,' to the 'Louvain Bibles,' and to the 'Ordinary' bibles. He makes special mention of the *Codex of St. Paul's 'without the walls,'* and to the *Cod. Amiatinus*, and he refers constantly to the decisions arrived at by the Sixtine and Gregorian commissions. On the last page of this Sixtine Bible is written in Toletus' hand: "August 28, 1592, the feast of St. Augustine, the first year of Clement VII. (sic!) I completed these annotations." Thus within seven months from the time of the accession of Clement VIII. to the Pontifical throne Toletus completed the revision of the whole Bible. He could not have done this had it not been for the labours of

his predecessors, the members of the preceding commissions. And here we may repeat what we insisted on above, viz., that the repeated revisions which the changes detailed above have indicated ensured the thoroughness of the work. The Clementine Vulgate as we now have it was not the work of any one man nor of any one age. It was not produced by any one school of exegetes who might have prepossessions of their own; it was the work of a whole series of successive revisers each of whom profited by the work of their predecessors. This fact should not be lost sight of in estimating the value of our present Vulgate text.

When Toletus' work was completed it was submitted to the two above-mentioned Cardinals, and was then entrusted to the printer, Aldus of Venice. But it is clear that Toletus' corrections were not accepted *en bloc*, for many of them are not to be found in the Clementine edition of 1592. But there exists in the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome another copy of the Sixtine Vulgate, in which the margin has preserved readings, titles of books, and verse-divisions, which now stand in the Clementine Vulgate but which are not to be found in the copy of the Sixtine Bible referred to above. These MS. notes appear to have been compiled partly by Angelo Rocca, partly by Toletus himself, and from this copy the first edition of the Clementine Vulgate was printed in 1592. Before, however, it was finally entrusted to the printers, a difficulty was raised, which, but for the prompt action of the Pope, might have caused endless delay: Valverde, himself one of the Sixtine Consultors, presented to the Pope a list of at least two hundred places in which the proposed Vulgate text differed from the Hebrew or Greek originals. He appears to have obstinately insisted that these should be corrected, but Clement, after taking advice on the matter, imposed perpetual silence upon him! This instance is instructive as showing how men who were themselves members of the commissions, failed at times to grasp the real purport of the Tridentine Decree which aimed not at a correction of St. Jerome's work but at a restoration of the current Bibles to the state in which they left St. Jerome's hands.

Unfortunately the printer, Aldus, in spite of his deservedly great reputation, failed on this occasion to do himself justice, and the first edition was disfigured by a number of more or less serious misprints, one of which was never corrected in any of the three subsequent editions: in Gen. xxxv. 8, Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, was said to have been buried 'on top of' the oak instead of 'under it, 'super' being printed for 'subter'! The next year, 1593, saw a new edition, this time in 4to; this also had its own misprints, and was replaced in 1598 by an edition in small 4to, which was provided with a triple list of typographical errors for the three editions respectively. These lists were drawn up by Rocca and Toletus. No official Roman edition of the Vulgate has been published since 1598, though other editions have been brought out with official sanction. Most of the misprints occurring in the three official editions have been corrected, but even now new ones are to be found.

The three editions published during Clement's lifetime all bore on their frontispiece the title *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita. Romæ ex typographia Vaticana.* It was not till 1675 that a Bible appeared with the name of Clement on the title-page: *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. P.M. jussu recognita et Clementis VIII. auctoritate edita.* To the edition of 1592, Sixtus' famous Constitution *Aeternus Ille* was appended, but in the edition of 1593 it was replaced by Bellarmine's *Preface.* Sixtus' Constitution was thus suppressed, and hence is not to be found in the *Bullarium Magnum.*

The Holy See has now taken steps to secure an adequate revision of the Vulgate; in May 1907, Pope Pius X. announced his determination to have this revision made, and almost immediately afterwards it was officially declared that the work was to be entrusted to the Benedictine Order which, owing to its long centuries of work on the text, was eminently fitted to carry out the task. Abbot Gasquet, Abbot-President of the English Benedictines, was nominated President of the commission appointed for the revision, and it is hoped that before many years have elapsed we shall have an edition of the Vulgate worthy not

only of the Benedictine Order, but also of the great part which the Latin Bible has played in the history of the Church. But how vast the labour which this work of revision will call for will be clear even from the foregoing brief sketch.

The Authenticity of the Vulgate. The Council of Trent declared the Vulgate 'authentic'; to grasp the true significance of this declaration we must note the steps which led to this pronouncement.

In the Session held on March 17th, 1546, four principal abuses regarding the Holy Scriptures were pointed out. The third and fourth referred to the wild interpretations then in vogue, and to the reckless dissemination of the Scriptures, two natural results of the invention of printing. The first and second abuses were that all manner of Latin texts were in use, and that they were many of them exceedingly corrupt. In view of these two latter abuses the Fathers proposed as a remedy "to have only one edition, namely the Old Vulgate, which all are to use as authentic in public lectures, expositions and preaching; and no one must be allowed to reject or contradict this (authentic text); but this is not meant to detract from the authority due to the pure and true translation of the Seventy, which the Apostles sometimes used, nor is it meant as a repudiation of the other versions in so far as they further the understanding of the authentic Vulgate." With regard to the corrupt state of the Vulgate text, the remedy proposed was that, by correcting the MSS., the pure and genuine Vulgate edition, freed from errors which have crept in, be restored to the Christian world. The Holy Father was, therefore, begged to see to this, and also to see that a correct Greek and Hebrew text be provided.

This proposal was carefully considered in three successive sessions with the result that the following Decree was published:

"The Holy Synod, feeling that it would be no small gain to the Church of God if it were clearly stated which, of all the Latin editions of the Scriptures which are in circulation, is to be held as authentic, hereby declares and enacts that the well-known (haec ipsa) Old Vulgate edition, which has been proved by its long continued use throughout so many centuries in

the Church, is, in public conferences, disputations, preachings, and expositions, to be held as authentic, and that no one is, upon any pretext, to dare or presume to repudiate it." Attached to this Decree was the order to printers to see that henceforth the Sacred Scriptures, particularly the Old Vulgate edition, be most carefully printed.

Now an 'authentic' document is defined as one which stands of itself, it needs no confirmation from without. Further, it is apparent that there is a distinction between the 'authenticity' of an *original* document, e.g., the original of one of St. Paul's Epistles, the 'authenticity' of a *copy* of the same, and finally the 'authenticity' of a *translation* of the same. The Vulgate clearly can only claim the last-named species of authenticity. Now an authentic translation of a will, for example, demands that it faithfully represents what was in the original; it must not mislead in essentials, it need not, indeed, render word for word, and accidentals may be differently presented, but the substance must be the same with that given in the original. This is absolutely all that is claimed for the Vulgate. The original inspired documents were a genuine source of knowledge of Revelation, so also is the Vulgate; no false doctrine could be legitimately deduced from the original, so neither from the Vulgate; and further, it faithfully expresses whatever belongs to the substance of the originally-written word. It should be noted, too, that the Vulgate is declared 'authentic' because proved by long usage in the Church. If then any passage now standing in the Vulgate can be shown not to have been thus 'in long usage in the Church' it will cease to fall under this Decree; this is important, for if it should ever be held as proved that I. John v. 7, was not so read in the Church throughout a long course of centuries, it would cease to form an authentic part of the Vulgate.

In order to avoid misunderstandings the following points should be noted: (*a*) The Vulgate is declared to be the only authentic *Latin* copy. (*b*) The originals are not mentioned in the Decree; the LXX., indeed, is praised in the proposition submitted to the Council. (*c*) In the course of the discussions, Card. Pole wished to have not only an authentic copy of the Vulgate, but also of the Hebrew and Greek,

and even of the Bible in each tongue. (*d*) Salmeron, one of the Theologians of the Council, maintained that the Decree was in no sense meant to deprive us of the right to defend the Church's teachings from the Hebrew or LXX. (*e*) The Fathers of Trent were perfectly well aware that there were errors in the Vulgate translation and insisted on the necessity of correcting these either by recourse to the originals, or, failing these, to tradition. (*f*) The Decree was not prospective, i.e., it did not refer to the Vulgate which was to be brought out, but to the Vulgate itself as it left the hands of St. Jerome. In the edition contemplated by the Council, it was hoped to be able to restore this original text of St. Jerome as completely as possible.

Vulgate MSS. The most important of those which contain the O.T. are:

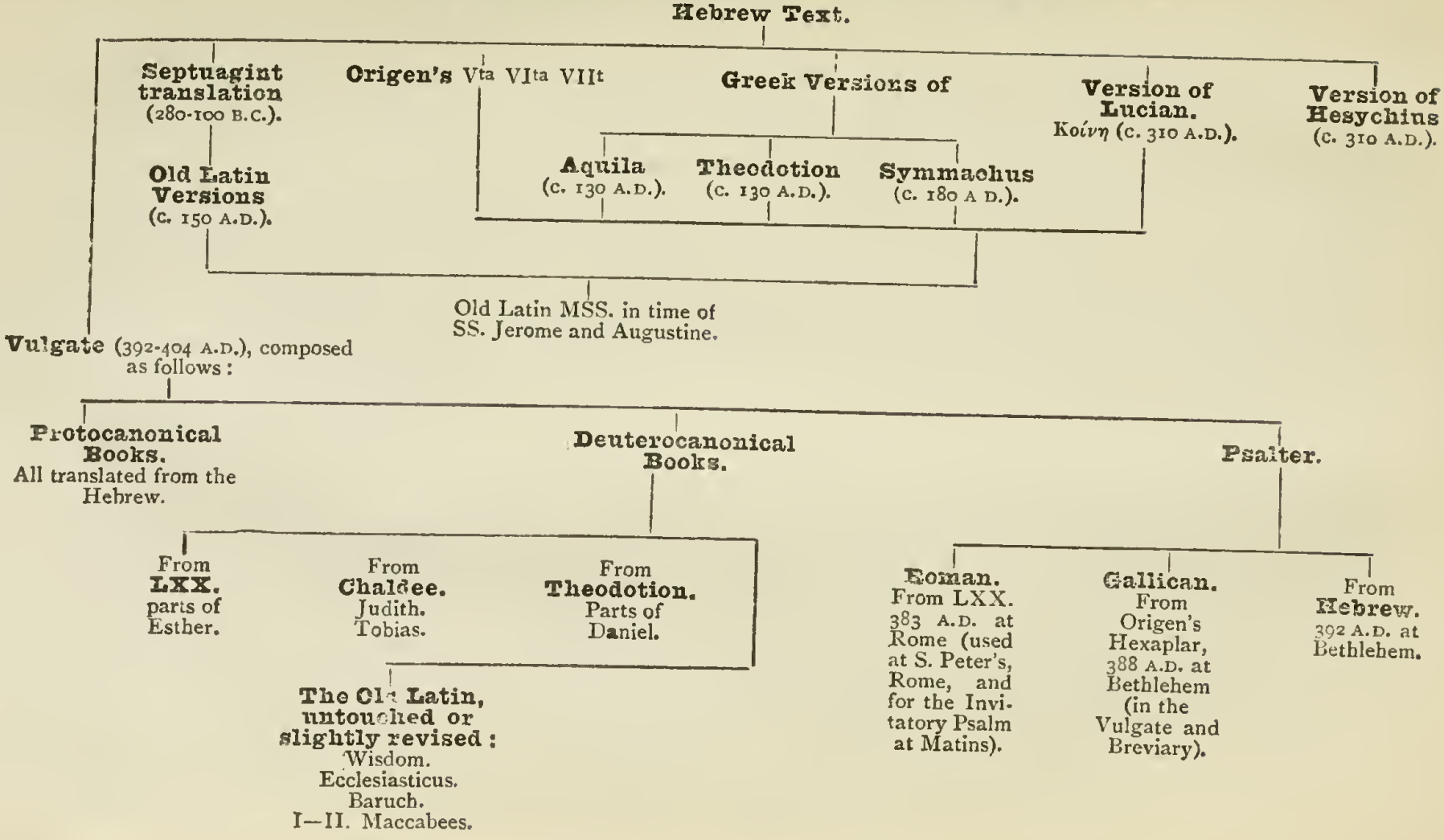
Codex *Cavensis*, so called from the Benedictine monastery of Corpo di Cava, near Salerno. It was written in Spain, probably in the sixth century, in Visigothic characters; it is very similar in character to

Codex *Toletanus*, now in the National Library, Madrid. It probably belongs to the tenth century, though some would refer it to the eighth. It is written in Visigothic characters, and was collated for the Sixtine revision by Palomares, but the collation arrived too late. It will prove of use, however, to the present Benedictine revisers.

Codex *Amiatinus*, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence; seventh or eighth century. It was written either at Wearmouth or Jarrow, by order of Abbot Ceolfrid, and sent by him to the Pope in 715 A.D. It derives its name from the monastery of Monte Amiata where it was long kept. It was used by the Sixtine revisers, and is probably the nearest approach to the Vulgate, as it left St. Jerome's hands, of all the MSS. accessible to us at present.

Codex *Vallicellianus*, in the Oratorian Library attached to the Chiesa Nuova, Rome; it is probably the best specimen of Alcuin's revision extant, ninth century.

GENEALOGY OF THE VULGATE OLD TESTAMENT.



A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL EARLY VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. The Septuagint Greek version, begun in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 286-246 B.C.
2. The Old Latin, in the early part of the second century A.D.
3. The Syriac, probably about the same time as the Old Latin.
4. The Greek version by Aquila, about 130 A.D.
5. The Greek version by Theodotion, about 130 A.D.
6. The Greek version by Symmachus, about 180 A.D.
7. The Coptic versions, Bohairic or Memphitic, Sahidic or Thebaic, perhaps before the close of the second century A.D., though some would assign them to a later date.
8. The Gothic version by Ulfilas, attributed to the year 381 A.D.
9. The Ethiopic version, fourth to fifth century.
10. The Armenian version, about 400 A.D.
11. The Georgian version, fifth to sixth century.
12. The Arabic version, about the tenth century.

THE BIBLE IN THE BRITISH ISLES. England has always been a Bible-loving country, and the MSS. produced by Irish and English copyists were, and still are, famous. The connexion between the Irish Church and the monasteries of Corbey, St. Germain, and St. Gall is well known, and several of the famous MSS. which derive their names from those monasteries were written by Irish hands, while the Codex *Aureus* of the Gospels was, according to an Old-English note on the title page, bought in the reign of King Alfred for the use of Christ Church, Canterbury. The above mentioned MSS. give the Old Latin text. But those which give the Vulgate text are extraordinarily numerous; it is calculated that there are about 8000 in existence. About 180 of these are regarded as of high value, and it is worth noting that of these no less than 23 are probably due to English copyists, while at least 30 are to be attributed to Irish copyists. Amongst these should be noted such famous MSS. as the Codex *Amiatinus*, written either at Wear-

mouth or Jarrow, the *Lindisfarne* Gospels, the *Lichfield* Gospels, the *Stonyhurst* St. John, the *Books* of Deer, Kells, Armagh, Durrow, Macdurnan, and Moling, and the *Rushworth* Gospels. Among English Biblical scholars whose names are held in veneration, we need only mention St. Benet Biscop, who, on returning from his fourth journey to Rome, in 678 A.D., furnished the *Scriptoria*, at Jarrow and at Wearmouth; the Abbot Ceolfrid, who caused the famous Codex *Amiatinus* to be copied and sent to Rome in 715 A.D.; the Ven. Bede, 735, whose Homilies on the Bible text were read in Church even during his life-time; and Alcuin, whose labours on the revision of the Vulgate text have given us the famous Alcuinian copies of the Bible, e.g., the *Vallicellanus* Codex of the Chiesa Nuova at Rome.

Anglo-Saxon Versions. *Caedmon*, c. 680, paraphrased portions of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel, which have been preserved to us. *St. Bede* translated at least the Gospels, as we know from the story of his death by his biographer, Abbot Cuthbert, but no fragment of his translation has come down to us. King *Alfred*, too, translated certain portions of Exodus and Acts, as a preface to his Code of Saxon laws; while we have a metrical version by *Aelfric*, Abbot of Peterborough and afterwards Archbishop of York in 1023, of large portions of the Pentateuch, Josue, Judges, Kings, Esther, Job, Judith, and Maccabees. There are remains, too, of Anglo-Norman translations of the Psalter and the Canticle of Canticles previous to 1200 A.D., while the Augustinian Canon, *Orm.* in the twelfth century, composed the so-called 'Ormulum,' a metrical paraphrase of the stories of the Bible. In the fourteenth century we have two versions of the Psalter, that of *William of Shoreham*, and that of *Richard Rolle* of Hampole, who died in 1349.

This brings us to the era of *Wyclif*. Protestant writers commonly insist that he was the first to translate the Bible into English, and that he did this in opposition to the Church which desired at all costs to keep the Bible from the people. This only too popular view is thus given with his usual exaggeration by Froude: "Of the Gospels and Epistles so much only was known by the laity as was read in the church

services, and that *intoned* as if to be purposely unintelligible to the understanding. *Of the rest of the Bible, nothing was known at all,* because nothing was supposed to be necessary."

How untrue and how unjust is this accusation may be gathered from the following brief notes:—

1.—We have already seen that there were translations of the Psalter in the 14th century.

2.—We have also noticed the Anglo-Saxon versions.

3.—It should be remembered that all who could read used French and Latin which were the official languages of the educated world; the people as a whole could not have read the Bible had it been put before them in any language.

4.—The art of printing had not yet come in and the price of a manuscript Bible was prohibitive; we find £25 paid for a Breviary in 1518 A.D.

5.—*Blessed Thomas More* says in his *Dialogue* (ed. 1530, p. 138), "The whole Bible was long before his (Wyclif's) days by virtuous and well learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion, and soberness, well and reverendly read." In another place he says: "As for old traditions before Wyclif's time, they remain lawful and be in some folk's hands. Myself have seen and can show you, Bibles, fair and old, in English, which have been known and seen by the Bishop of the Diocese and left in laymans hands and womens."

6.—It is the fashion to say that Bl. Thomas More was mistaken. But his witness is fully borne out by that of *Cranmer*, who in his prologue to the second edition of the *Great* Bible says: "If the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not much above one hundred years ago, since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realm, and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue . . . and when this language waxed old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain and be daily found."

7.—Even *Foxe*, the Martyrologist, makes the same acknowledgement: "If histories be well examined we shall find both before the Conquest and after, as well before John Wickliffe was born as since, the whole body of the Scriptures was by sundry men translated into our country tongue."

8.—In the British Museum Catalogue of 1892, we find that the Museum possesses 11 German editions of the Bible dating from 1466-1518; 3 Bohemian editions between 1488-1506; 1 Dutch of 1477; 5 French from 1510-1531; 7 Italian from 1471-1532. All these are, of course, pre-Lutheran; they are Catholic versions in different languages. It must be remembered, too, that they only represent a tithe of the copies which exist, they are merely those which the Museum has collected in the course of years.

9.—No proof has ever been brought forward to show that the Church forbade, or even discouraged, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. This may come as a surprise even to Catholics, for we have been accustomed to hear the very opposite all our lives! But the proof is easy.

In A.D. 1408, the Council of Oxford, under Archbishop Arundel, published the following *Constitution:* "It is dangerous, as St. Jerome declares, to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one idiom into another, since it is not easy in translations to preserve exactly the same meaning in all things. . . We therefore command and ordain that henceforth no one translate any text (it is question of passages, *texta* in the heading of the Constitution) of Holy Scripture into English or any other language in a book, booklet, or tract, and that no one read any book, booklet, or tract of this kind lately made in the time of the said John Wyclif or since, or that hereafter may be made either in part or wholly, either publicly or privately, under pain of excommunication, until *such translation shall have been approved and allowed by the diocesan of the place*, or (if need be), *by the Provincial Council.* He who shall act otherwise let him be punished as an abettor of heresy and error."

Bl. Thomas More's comment on this law is striking: "And this is a law that so many long have spoken of, and so few have in all this while sought to seek (or

find out) whether they say the truth or no. For I trow that in this law you see nothing unreasonable. For it neither forbiddeth the translations to be read that were already well done of old before Wyclif's days, nor damneth his because it was new, but because it was naught; nor prohibiteth new to be made, but provideth that they shall not be read, if they be made amiss, till they be by good examination amended."

10.—It has been shown—almost to demonstration—that the so-called 'Wycliffite' Bibles, of which something like 200 copies exist, are really nothing else than old English orthodox Bibles; that Wyclif himself has only the most shadowy of claims ever to have translated more than the Gospels; and that even the famous Bible reposing on its velvet cushion in the King's Library at the British Museum and labelled: *The English Bible, Wycliffe's translation,* is but an orthodox Catholic Bible dating from a time anterior to Wyclif. For proof of this astounding statement we must refer the reader to Abbot Gasquet's papers on *The Pre-Reformation English Bible.* We will content ourselves here with but one of the many arguments which he has brought forward in support of his view. Bl. Thomas More, when combating the oft-repeated statement that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners burnt every copy of the Bible on which they could lay hands, says: "If this were done so it were not well done; but . . . I believe that ye mistake it." And in answer to the objection that the Bible of a Lollard named Hun was burnt in the Bishop of London's prison, he says: "This I remember well, that there were in the prologue of that Bible such words touching the Blessed Sacrament as good Christian men did abhor to hear, and that gave the readers undoubted occasion to think that the book was written after Wyclif's copy and by him translated into our tongue, and that this Bible was destroyed not because it was in English, but because *it contained gross and manifest heresy.*" From this it is clear that the Wycliffite Bibles, i.e., those which emanated from him or his followers, were distinctly heretical, as indeed the whole history supposes. But the existing Bibles bear no trace of any heretical tendency! The conclusion is inevitable. These Bibles are not

Wycliffite at all, but pure, orthodox, Catholic, pre-Reformation Bibles. This conclusion is startling but it is supported by a wealth of learning on the part of Abbot Gasquet, and if further proof were wanting it would be found in the attempts at replies by Mr. Matthew in the *English Historical Review* for Jan. 1895, Mr., now Sir F. G. Kenyon in *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, and the Rev. J. H. Lupton in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra vol., *s.v.*, *Versions (English)*.

The Douay Version. The Catholic version of the Bible is commonly known as 'the Douay,' but as a matter of fact the New Testament was translated at Rheims, and published in 1582, while the Old Testament was published only in 1609, and at Douay.

Four great names are inseparably connected with this translation, viz., those of William Allen, Gregory Martin, Richard Bristow, and Thomas Worthington. *Allen* was Principal of St. Mary's Hall at Oxford, when he was obliged to fly from the country owing to his staunchness in the Catholic faith. After a stay at Louvain and a brief spell in England, he settled down at Douay, where he rendered historic service to the Catholic cause in England by founding Douay Seminary. He was summoned to Rome by Sixtus V. who made him a Cardinal; Gregory XIV. placed him on the commission for the revision of the Sixtine Vulgate, and his name occurs in the famous inscription at Zagorola, commemorating the work of this commission. *Gregory Martin* was one of the Foundation-scholars of St. John's, Oxford; his reputation for learning was very great, but he gave up all the opportunities offered by the University 'for conscience' sake'; before leaving he wrote to Campion, the future martyr: "If we two can live together we can live on nothing; and if this is too little, I have money; but if this also fails, one thing remains: they that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

From Oxford Martin went to Douay, where he was ordained in 1573; in 1576 he was summoned to Rome by Gregory XIII. to assist in the formation of the English College. Two years later he went to Rheims whither the Douay College had been removed, and there he began the work of translating the Bible

into English. His hard work and laborious days as Professor undermined a constitution already delicate, and Martin died at Rheims, Oct. 28th, 1582, shortly after the publication of the New Testament.

Richard Bristow entered at Oxford in 1555, and he and Campion were accounted the greatest lights of the University in their day; they were selected to hold a public disputation before Queen Elizabeth, on occasion of her visit to the City in 1566. Like the others, however, Bristow was compelled to flee the country, and in 1569 he joined Allen at Douay, and became his chief support. To him we owe the very polemical notes which appeared in the early editions of the New Testament. The work at Douay, combined with his labours on the New Testament, destroyed Bristow's health, and he died on Oct. 15th, 1581, at Harrow, at the early age of forty-three.

Thomas Worthington passed from Oxford to Douay in 1572. He later went on the English mission and suffered the terrible torment of remaining in the 'pit' for over two months. When released he returned to Douay, where he became President of the Seminary. To him we owe the notes appended to the Old Testament. He died in 1626.

To these four men, then, we owe the Douay Bible. Martin appears to have been responsible for the whole translation, though there are reasons for thinking that the other Professors also contributed their share. Bristow wrote the notes to the New Testament, Worthington those to the Old. To Allen fell the onerous task of providing the funds for the undertaking and of correcting his companions' work.

To appreciate at its true worth the translation they produced we must bear in mind the following points. These exiles were the pick of the University which had driven them out, they were most learned men. Further, they were Apostles in the truest sense of the term, for their whole lives were devoted to the cause of the Catholic faith; we have seen how both Martin and Bristow died at a very early date as the result of their strenuous labours and we can well term them 'martyrs.' Again, they all lived in an atmosphere of controversy such as even in these days we can hardly understand. The heretics had their translations

and, in Allen's own words, 'have at their finger tips every text of Scripture which appears to make for them, and that, too, in some heretical version; moreover, by stringing passages together and changing the Sacred text, they make it seem as though they were saying nothing but what was in the Bible.' Consequently there was a feeling of unrest abroad among Catholics; men began to fear lest the true Scriptures were being withheld from them. These considerations compelled the Douay Professors to present a translation direct from the original, as literal as possible, and replete with notes to illustrate the controverted points. Allen, writing in 1578, says: "We could remedy these evils if we, too, had a Catholic version of the Bible, for all the English versions are most corrupt. . . If His Holiness shall judge it expedient we will ourselves endeavour to have the Bible truly and genuinely translated according to the Church's approved edition, for we have amongst us men most fit for the work it seems safer that men should have a faithful and Catholic translation rather than that they should use corrupt versions to their peril, if not to their destruction. Moreover the dangers arising from difficult passages could be met by suitable notes."

In the margin of the Douay Diary for October, 1578, we find: 'Oct. 16th, or thereabouts, Mr. Martin, Licentiate, began the translation of the Bible into English; thus at length we shall be enabled to meet the corruptions which the heretics have now for so long a time unfortunately forced upon nearly all our countrymen. In order that this work, an exceedingly useful one, may appear as quickly as possible, he undertakes to translate two chapters a day; and in order to secure its accuracy, our President, Mr. Allen, and also Mr. Bristow, undertake to diligently read the said chapters and faithfully to correct anything which may seem to call for it.'

In the Diary for March, 1582, we find the startlingly brief entry: 'This month the last touches were put to the English translation of the New Testament.'

Allen writes later that the cost of printing, etc., will amount to about £3000 of our present money.

We pointed out above that the translators were

compelled to put before the people a translation which should as closely as possible give the words of the original. But they translated directly from the Latin Vulgate and not from the Greek—we are speaking here of the New Testament only—; the reasons they allege for so doing are interesting: we present them in an abbreviated form:

"We translate the old vulgar Latin text, not the common Greek text, for these causes:

1.—Its antiquity, it has been in use 1300 years.

2.—It is that corrected by St. Jerome.

3.—It is therefore that commended by St. Augustine in a letter to St. Jerome.

4.—It has always been used in Church services, in commentaries, sermons, etc.

5.—The Council of Trent declared it 'authentic.'

6.—It is the most majestic, most grave, and most impartial of all translations.

7.—It adheres so closely to the Greek as almost to merit the censure of being slavish. In this respect it compares favourably with the Protestant translations.

8.—Even such opponents to Catholicism as Theodore Beza prefer it to any other.

9.—Even Luther was forced to acknowledge that if everybody continued to translate at his own pleasure men would have to reinstate the old Councils in order to preserve the unity of faith.

10.—It is not only better than all other Latin translations, but than the Greek itself in those places where they disagree."

At the same time the translators paid attention to the Greek text, as the original notes, now removed, fully prove, and as the translators themselves announce on their title page.

The excessive literalness of the translations and the very Latin expressions which disfigured it, urged Dr. Challoner to revise the work. He himself published six editions of the revised text, between 1749 and 1777. But Dr. Challoner's revision was very drastic, and while he rendered good and indeed necessary service he undoubtedly weakened the nervous and forcible English of the original Elisabethan translators. Dr. Challoner's revision is the one now universally followed, indeed since its publication only the two editions

published with Dr. Troy's sanction have varied from it. We may mention a few of the best known editions. The original New Testament was published in 1582, reprinted in 1600, 1621, 1633, 1638, 1788, 1834 in New York by a Protestant for controversial perposes, and in 1872 in parallel columns with the Vulgate by Bagster. Challoner's editions came between 1749 and 1777; those of Dr. Troy between 1783 and 1810. Dr. Hay's edition in 1761, and reprinted up till 1817. The well-known Haydock's Bible began to appear in 1811, and has been reprinted often. From 1825 we have Dr. Murray's editions which passed into those of Drs. Denvir and Crolly; lastly came Wiseman's edition in 1847, he mainly followed Dr. Troy. A new edition is much called for, as well as a careful revision of the translation.

Chronological Table of Anglo-Saxon and English Versions.

1. c. 680. Caedmon's paraphrases.
2. c. 700. Psalter by St. Aldhelm(?).
3. d. 735. Ven. Bede.
4. c. 900. King Alfred.
5. c. 950. The Anglo-Saxon interlinear translation found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and apparently reproduced in the *Rushworth Gospels.*
6. c. 1020. The versions of Aelfric.
7. c. 1320. Psalter of William of Shoreham.
8. c. 1320. Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole, d. 1349.
9. Various Catholic Versions of the whole Bible testified to by Blessed Thomas More, Cranmer, and Foxe. *See above.*
10. c. 1380. Wyclif (?) the Gospels (?).
11. c. 1382. Nicholas of Hereford (?) translation of whole Bible down to Bar. iii. 20 (?); he is supposed to have assisted Wyclif.
12. c. 1388. John Purvey (?) a revision of the work of Wyclif (?) and Nicholas of Hereford (?).
13. 1525-6. Tindale, the first *printed* English New Testament.
14. 1530. Tindale, the Pentateuch, printed at Marburg.
15. 1531. Tindale, the Book of Jonas, printed at Antwerp (?).

16. 1535. Tindale, two editions of his revised New Testament.
17. 1535. Coverdale, two editions of the whole Bible from the Dutch and Latin; he depended much on the Vulgate, Luther, Tindale, and the translation from the Hebrew by the Dominican Santes Pagninus.
18. 1537. Matthew, or John Rogers, the whole Bible; practically a re-edition of the work of Coverdale and Tindale.
19. 1539. Taverner, a new edition of Matthew's Bible.
20. 1539. The 'Great' Bible, prepared at the command of Cromwell by Coverdale. Seven editions appeared between 1539 and 1541; these, with the exception of the first, had a Preface by Cranmer, hence they are sometimes spoken of as Cranmer's Bibles.

 In the 'Great' Bible the Old Testament was Coverdale's edition of 1535 with changes derived from Matthew's Bible of 1537 and from the Latin translation by Sebastian Munster. The New Testament was a combination of that of Tindale in 1534 with that of Coverdale in 1535; considerable assistance was also derived from the work of Erasmus.
21. 1557. Whittingham's New Testament, produced at Geneva; this was of course a Puritan work.
22. 1560. The whole Genevan Bible appeared in this year; it was translated from the Hebrew and Greek, and from its handy size and print became speedily very popular. The Old Testament was founded on that of Tindale, the New on that already published by Whittingham, but both were revised.
23. 1568. The 'Bishops' Bible was a set off to the Genevan Bible. It was due to the activity of Archbishop Parker, and other editions of it appeared in 1569 and 1572.
24. 1582. The Rheims New Testament.
25. 1600. A second edition of the Rheims New Testament.
26. 1609. The Douay Old Testament.

27. 1611. The 'Authorised' version, or King James' Bible. This is the Bible which has remained in use ever since. It was the outcome of all the previous translations, especially of the Rheims New Testament as has been lately demonstrated by Carleton, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*, Clarendon Press, 1902. The Douay Old Testament was not in the hands of the framers of the Authorised version.
28. 1749-50. Dr. Challoner's revision of the Rheims and Douay versions.
29. 1881. The revised version of the New Testament.
30. 1885. The revised version of the Old Testament.

CHAPTER IV

THE TABLE OF THE NATIONS.

(*Genesis x.*)

NOE

JAPHETH — CHAM — SEM

A. SONS OF JAPHETH.

GOMER — MAGOG (Ezech. xxxviii.) — MADAI — JAVAN — THUBAL (Ezech. xxvii. 12-13) — MOSOCH — THIRAS

(a.) Sons of Gomer.

ASCENEZ — RIPATH — THOGORMA (Ezech. xxvii. 14)

All the above are the peoples of the North of Asia Minor and Armenia.

(b.) Sons of Javan.

ELISA — THARSIS — CHITTIM — DODANIM (Rodanim, I. Paral. i. 7.)

Javan stands for the Ionians or Greeks, and the above nations are those of the Mediterranean Islands.

B. SONS OF CHAM.

CHUS MISRAIM PHUTH CHANAAN

(a.) Sons of Chus.

SABA HEVILA SABATHA REGMA SABATACHA.

SABA DEDAN NIMROD

These are the peoples of S. Arabia or Yemen. The name Saba occurs twice in our version, more correctly the first, the son of Chus, should be Seba ; the second, the son of Regma, should be Sheba.

(b.) Sons of Misraim—or Egypt.

The—LUDIM ANAMIM LAABIM NEPHTUIM PHETRUSIM

CHASLUIM CAPHTORIM

(c.) Sons of Chanaan.

SIDON HETH JEBUS the AMORRHITE the GERGESITE

the ARACITE the SINITE the SAMARITE the AMATHITE

C. SONS OF SEM.

ELAM ASSUR ARPHAXAD LUD ARAM

SALE

HEBER

US HUL GETHER MES

PHELEG JOKTAN

13 Sons

THE NATIONS SURROUNDING ISRAEL. For detailed accounts of these nations the student must consult fuller treatises, here we only give in outline the Biblical history of the principal nations with whom Israel came into contact. One general remark must be made with regard to them all: these nations only figure in the Bible in so far as they affect Israel; we are apt to forget that they had a much larger history and were of much greater importance than the Bible history would lead us to suppose. The Philistines, Phœnicians, and Syrians, for example, were on the whole far better known to the peoples of antiquity than were the Hebrews; and the two last-named nations had a far greater material influence on the history of the world than Israel ever had. We say 'material influence' of set purpose; for they had no higher function to perform. It was otherwise with Israel, who was raised up for the spiritual gain of the world, and whose history from this sole point of view is presented in the Bible.

The Babylonians and Assyrians. From unknown antiquity the basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates was occupied by the Babylonians; at a later period, the upper waters of the Tigris were occupied by the Assyrians. Of recent years excavations carried out by the French and English have brought to light the past history of these two nations, and though there are many gaps in our knowledge it can be truly said that in some respects we know even more about them than we know about the early Greeks and Romans.

The origin of the *Babylonians* is veiled in obscurity. The original inhabitants of the land seem to have belonged to a Turanian or non-Semitic stock. They went by the name of the Sumerians or Accadians. At a later period a Semitic invasion took place and a gradual welding of the two nations was the result. Some, however, hold that the Sumerians never existed as a nation, and that the title 'Sumerian' merely indicates the Semitic inhabitants of a particular region. It is certainly a remarkable fact that the Sumerians and Accadians are never mentioned in the monuments as 'nations.' Others, again, hold that 'Sumerian' and 'Accadian' are not really interchangeable names, and

that while the former indicates the pre-Semitic inhabitants, the latter is merely a synonym for the Semitic invaders. The commoner view, however, is that stated at the outset.

There was no Empire in the Sumerian days, the people dwelt in certain famous cities, Larsa, Erech, Nippur, etc., and a series of independent states were thus formed. The names of a large number of the early kings of these cities have come down to us, e.g., Ur-Nina, Akurgal, Eannatum, etc. While it is impossible to assign absolutely certain dates to these kings, we have some dates furnished us in an inscription of Nabonidus, possibly son-in-law of Nebuchodonosor the Great, and king of Babylon B.C. 555-538. Nabonidus had archæological tastes, and among other things he tells us that when restoring the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar he found an inscription of Naram-Sin the son of Sargon, which had not been seen for three thousand two hundred years. If the date of the temple-restoration was 550 B.C., it will follow that Naram-Sin reigned about 3750. It is the custom nowadays to throw doubt on the value of this statement and say that Nabonidus must have added an extra thousand years by mistake. And this is not so arbitrary a pronouncement as it might at first sight seem, for it is a fact that after Naram-Sin we have a gap of a little over a thousand years, which has not been filled up, the next kings with whose names we are acquainted being those of the Ur dynasty, i.e. Ur-Bau, Gudea, etc., who reigned in the cities of Ur, Isin, and Larsa, and who date from about B.C. 2500. On the other hand, Nabonidus' statement about Naram-Sin does not stand alone, for he mentions two other synchronisms which have not been called in question, and which fall in with the scheme of chronology which on other counts seems to be justified. Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal have also left us similar archæological synchronisms which critics have seen no reason to reject. It may well be, then, that Naram-Sin did actually reign as early as the first half of the third millenium before Christ. But Naram-Sin was a Semite, and, according to the commonly accepted view, the Semites displaced the Sumerians, and, what is more, derived their culture and their system of

writing from them. This being so it will follow that we must throw back the Sumerian kings mentioned above to perhaps the fifth or sixth millenium B.C.

Attempts seem to have been made by various kings to establish an Empire over other states, but the first who can be said really to have succeeded in so doing was the famous Hammurabi, who has with great probability been identified with the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. He was a really great king, and he and his immediate successors have left us an immense number of religious, commercial, and legal documents, which attest the great heights to which the civilisation of the country had then reached. See *Code of Hammurabi.*

The dynasty of Hammurabi was destroyed by the *Hittites* who captured Babylon. About the nineteenth century B.C. the *Kassites* established themselves in the country; they came from the east of the Tigris, and ruled over Babylonia until about 1300 B.C. It was with kings of this dynasty that the Pharaohs of the Tell-el-Amarna letters corresponded, and one of them, Burna-buriash II., is of especial interest since his correspondence with Amenophis IV. confirms a statement made by Nabonidus to the effect that this Burna-buriash lived seven hundred years after Hammurabi. This enables us to fix Hammurabi's date, and strengthens our confidence in Nabonidus' chronological accuracy.

About B.C. 1275, Babylonia was conquered by Assyria, and the history of the two kingdoms is henceforth intermingled.

Assyria. According to Gen. x. 10-12, Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh—all in the land of Shinar—were founded by Nimrod; the account adds: "Out of that land went forth Assur, and built Ninive, and the streets of the city (R.V. Rehoboth-Ir), and Calah and Resen." This would make the Assyrians an offshoot from Babylonia, and the Biblical statement appears to be confirmed by the similarity of religion, customs, writing, and language, which existed between the two peoples. The earliest king of Assyria known to us is *Irishum*, whose date may be fixed about 2000 B.C. But it is not till we come to *Ramman-nirari I.* that we are on really solid ground. He and his successors,

Shalmaneser I. and *Tukulti-Ninib I.*, reigned from about 1325-1275, and seem to have brought Assyria into prominence as a military power. The last-named captured Babylon, which sank into an almost dependent state. *Tiglath-Pileser I.*, *circa* 1100, carried his arms abroad, but the kingdom seems to have declined on his death. About 900 B.C., however, under *Tukulti-Ninib II.*, Assyria again emerged, and *Assur-nasir-pal*, 885-860, and *Shalmaneser II.*, 860-825, carried on a series of cruel wars which gave them dominion from the Persian gulf to Armenia, and from Media in the east to the shores of the Mediterranean. Shalmaneser II. is the first Assyrian monarch who, as far as we know, came into contact with Israel. One of the reliefs on the famous *Black Obelisk* in the British Museum bears the inscription 'Iaua (Jehu), son of Khumri (Omri or Amri).' Beneath the reliefs are a series of historical references, and though in them there is no mention of Jehu, yet we are told that Shalmaneser captured 'the whole camp of *Hazael*, the king of Damascus.' In a fragment preserved in the British Museum we have a fuller account of this campaign, it closes with the words 'I received the tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and of *Yahua, the son of Khumri.*' It should be noted that these monuments do not confirm the Biblical history which makes no mention of any such campaign, they rather show how slight a knowledge of the history of Israel we can acquire from the Bible alone which was not given us as a history of Israel but of God's dealings with the Chosen People—all else is secondary. We are enabled to date the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser II. referred to on the obelisk, for the Assyrian *Eponym Canon*, cf. *infra.*, shows that it fell in B.C. 842, cf. *Chronology.*

During the next hundred years Assyria seems to have declined in power, but in 745 *Tiglath-Pileser III.* restored to her her former supremacy. After campaigning in the north he turned his attention to the west, which had rebelled. It seems certain that *Azarias* king of Juda (Azriau in the records of Tiglath-Pileser), was a member of the confederacy, for in these records his name occurs four times; but it does not appear that Juda was invaded when, in 739, nineteen places in

the north of Palestine were captured by the Assyrian king. The members of the confederacy secured immunity from attack by paying tribute; it is interesting to note amongst others the following names: *Rezon* of Syria, *Menahem* of Samaria, and *Hiram* of Tyre. In IV. Kgs. xv. 19, we are told that Menahem paid this tribute, and are also informed of the means he took to collect it. In 734 an expedition to Philistia was undertaken. In 733-732 came the turn of Damascus, and, though no reference to it is made in the *Annals*, it seems probable that at this time took place the transportation of the northern tribes, IV. Kgs. xvi. 6. The departure of the Assyrians may have led to the alliance between Syria and Israel against *Achaz*, which compelled the latter to call in the aid of Tiglath-Pileser, IV. Kgs. xvi. 7. A shorter account of this expedition has the words "They overthrew *Phacee* their king, and placed *Hosea* upon the throne. Ten talents of gold I received." The sovereignty thus acquired over Syria may have prompted Achaz to visit the Assyrian monarch at Damascus, IV. Kgs. xvi. 10. In IV. Kgs. xv. 19, and in I. Paral. v. 26, Tiglath-Pileser is called *Phul*, the same name occurs in the Babylonian list of kings, and it is probably the official title of Tiglath-Pileser in Babylon as distinguished from Assyria.

Tiglath-Pileser was succeeded by a series of famous kings: of *Shalmaneser IV.*, 728-721, we know practically nothing from the monuments; in IV. Kgs. xvii. 3, he is represented as besieging Osee in Samaria. It is worth remarking that the Bible does not *say* that he took it, though, in the absence of other information, Josephus, *Ant.* IX. xiv. 1, is justified in concluding that he did so. We now know that his successor *Sargon*, 721-705, only mentioned in the Bible in Is. xx. 1, actually captured the city. In his *Annals* he tells us of campaigns against the Elamites, and then against Samaria, whence he deported 27,290 people. At the battle of *Raphia*, 720, he defeated Sibe, probably the *Sua* of IV. Kgs. xvii. 4, who may further be identified with Sabaco of the XXVth Dynasty. Yaubidi, the Hamathite, was defeated at the battle of *Qar-qar*. The west was now subdued, and expeditions were undertaken against Van, Carchemish, Ararat, the

Hittites and Philistia. In 710-709, war was waged against *Merodach-Baladan*, a Chaldean who had usurped the throne of Babylonia; he was defeated and Sargon was crowned in Babylon. In 705 he was succeeded by *Sennacherib*, 705-681. This king began his reign by attacking the ever-watchful Merodach-Baladan; but the campaign which, on the Taylor Cylinder, he refers to his third year, is the one of greatest importance for the Biblical student. For Sennacherib tells us that after the battle of Eltekeh, in which he routed the Egyptian troops, he turned his attention to Ezechias of Jerusalem. He says that he brought out Padi, the king of Accaron, from Jerusalem, that he besieged that city, and shut up Ezechias in it 'like a bird in a cage,' that he captured forty-six cities belonging to him, and that he made him send after him to Ninive 'thirty talents of gold and eight talents of silver' (IV. Kgs. xviii. 11, 'three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold'). It must be noted that while this account corroborates the Biblical narrative in many particulars it yet diverges from it in others; this is not the place to attempt a reconciliation of the discrepancies; suffice it to say that Sennacherib may possibly have made two separate invasions of Palestine, and that, owing to the unfavourable issue of one of them, the Assyrian annalist may have combined the accounts of both into one narrative. It is possible that we have a hint of this in the Bible, for in IV. Kgs. xviii. 16, we seem to have a gap, as though the subsequent narrative were concerned with a later invasion. The Babylonian Chronicle, in agreement with the Biblical account, describes Sennacherib's death as follows: "On the twentieth day of Tebet, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, his son killed him in revolt. . . . Esarhaddon, his son, sat upon the throne in Assyria." *Esarhaddon*, 681-668, was apparently the mildest of all the Assyrian kings, yet it is said of him in II. Paral. xxxiii. 11, that he took Manasses 'bound with chains (R.V. *Marg.* 'with hooks') . . . to Babylon.' There was discovered at Zenjirli, near Aleppo, a figure in relief representing Esarhaddon before whom are kneeling Tirhaka, king of Egypt, and another who is probably the king of Samala, they both have hooks in their noses, and the Assyrian king is holding them

by a leash, cf. Is. xix. 4, and IV. Kgs. xix. 28. Esarhaddon was succeeded by *Assur-bani-pal*, 668-626, in some senses the most warlike, in others the most civilised of all the Assyrians. He kept the west in subjection, and in his *Annals*, mention is made of *Manasses;* he also subdued Egypt, which had rebelled after the retirement of Esarhaddon. The Lydians, too, incurred his displeasure, and Gyges submitted to him. He also carried on war against the people of Van and against the Elamites. But there is ground for thinking that Assur-bani-pal never conducted campaigns in person, and it is certain that he was the greatest patron of letters ever produced by Assyria. He is spoken of in Esdras iv. 10, as 'the great and glorious Asenaphar,' and it is to his library at Ninive that we owe the twenty thousand tablets which have been recovered there during the last fifty years, and which now form the treasure of the British Museum. From this same library came the famous tablets of the Creation and the Flood. Assur-bani-pal died in 626, of his successors little or nothing is known, and the history of the downfall of Ninive and of the Assyrian empire is involved in obscurity. According to Nabonidus, a Median king entered into alliance with one who appears to be identified with *Nabopolassar*, of Babylon, who was himself vicegerent of the Assyrian king. It is probable, too, that, as Diodorus Siculus says, the Scythians had a hand in the final destruction of the Empire. Tradition has it that a great flood of the Tigris was the ultimate cause of the downfall of Ninive, see Nahum ii. 6-8. The fall of the city took place probably in 606 B.C.

The Neo-Babylonian Empire, B.C. 605-539. Nabopolassar thus resuscitated the Babylonian empire; he died, however, almost immediately, and was succeeded by *Nebuchodonosor II.*, B.C. 605-562. This monarch is known to us by his destruction of Jerusalem. *Joachim*, son of Josias, was a tributary of Babylon, but after paying tribute three years he rebelled. He was, however, promptly reduced to submission (IV. Kgs. xxiv. 1). His son *Joachin* also rebelled, helped probably by Egypt, and Jerusalem was besieged a second time by Nabuchodonosor, this time the Jewish

king was carried away to Babylon, B.C. 598. His uncle, Matthanias, was appointed in his stead, and his name was changed to *Sedecias*. Encouraged, however, by Pharaoh *Hophra*, he also rebelled, and the city endured a third siege at the hands of the king of Babylon. On the approach of Hophra the Babylonians withdrew, cf. Jer. xxxvii. 5-7. But the siege was soon renewed, and after a year and a half's resistance was taken in 588 or 586 B.C. Then came the turn of *Tyre*, which was blockaded for thirteen years without effect as far as is known, cf. Ezechiel xxix. Jeremias, ch. xliii., had foretold that Nabuchodonosor would penetrate into *Egypt*, and an Egyptian inscription bears this out, he even went as far south as Ethiopia. For Nabuchodonosor's relations with *Daniel* see the *Introduction* to that Book.

But it is even more as a builder that Nabuchodonosor is famous. The India-House inscription tells us how he built the great walls of the city. We also know that he laid out a 'Festival Street,' it has recently been laid bare by the German excavators. In addition to this he restored numbers of temples throughout the land. He was succeeded by *Evil-Merodach* (IV. Kgs. xxv. 27), who appears to have been a very mild—and hence not a very successful ruler, the times called for a strenuous man. In B.C. 559 he was murdered by *Neriglissar*, see Jer. xxxix. 3 and 13. The latter, after a reign of four years, was succeeded by *Laborosoarchod*, who, after nine months, fell a victim to a conspiracy, and was succeeded by one of the conspirators, *Nabonidus*. To this monarch we are indebted, as indicated above, for many archæological discoveries. He was no 'Roi fainéant' as some have depicted him, but he certainly was not the kind of king whom the times demanded. It seems certain that his ultimate fall was due to his neglect of certain ritual practices which as king he should have performed; this brought him into disfavour with the priesthood who took advantage of the presence of the Medes and of *Cyrus* to bring about his downfall. At the same time it does not appear that he neglected his kingdom, for his son *Belshazzar* appears to have been his vicegerent, and to have been in command of the troops in Babylon. Cyrus, however, captured the

city in 539, from which time the Babylonian Empire passed over into that of the Persians.

We append a list of the principal Babylonian and Assyrian kings.

Before the formation of the Empire we have kings of individual states:—

Manishtusu	...	king of Kish.
Akurgal	...	,, ,, ,,
Eannatum	...	,, ,, ,,
Enannatum I	...	,, ,, ,,
Entemena	...	,, ,, ,,
Enannatum II	...	,, ,, ,,
Urukagina	...	,, ,, ,,
Ur-Nina	...	king of Lagash.
Lugal-Zaggisi	...	king of Sumer.
Sargon	...	king of Agade.
Naram-Sin	...	,, ,, ,,
Ur-Bau	...	king of Lagash.
Gudea	...	,, ,, ,,
Dungi	...	king of Ur.
Bur-Sin	...	,, ,, ,,
Gimil-Sin	...	,, ,, ,,
Ishme-Dagan	...	king of Isin.
Ur-Ninib	...	,, ,, ,,
Bur-Sin II	...	,, ,, ,,
Rim-Sin	...	king of Larsa.
Sin-Gashid	...	king of Erech.
Sin-Gamil	...	,, ,, ,,

No precise dates can be attributed to these kings, and it is not until we come to the Dynasty made famous by the name of Hammurabi that we can attempt any definite system of dating.

The First Babylonian Empire. (The dates are approximate only).

B.C. 2300.—Sumu-abu.
2290.—Sumu-la-ilu.
2255.—Zabum.
2240.—Apil-Sin.
2220.—Sin-muballit.
2200.—Hammurabi.
2145.—Samsu-iluna.
2110.—Abeshu.
2085.—Ammiditana.

B.C. 2060.—Ammizaduga.
1700.—Agum.
1450.—Kara-indash.
1425.—Burnaburiash.
1400.—Kurigalzu.
1330.—Nazimaraddash.
1150.—Merodach-Baladan I.
1120.—Nebuchadnezzar I.
1100.—Marduk-nadin-akhe.
1100.—Marduk-shapik-zerim.
1080.—Ramman-aplu-iddina.
900.—Nabu-shum-ishkin.
870.—Nabu-aplu-iddina.
830.—Marduk-balatsu-ikbi.

From this period begins the Assyrian *Eponym Canon*, or list of yearly events, each year being named by the name of the 'Limmu' or 'Consuls'; this list has enabled us to establish a satisfactory chronological system for the years 747 onwards.

B.C. 747-733.—Nabonassar.
733-731.—Nabu-nadin-zer.
-731.—Nabu-shum-ukin.
731-729.—Unkin-zer.
729-727.—Pulu, i.e., the Biblical 'Phul' or Tiglath-Pileser III.
727-722.—Ululai.
721-710.—Merodach-Baladan II.
-703.—Marduk-zakir-shum.
703-702.—Merodach-Baladan II.
702-700.—Bel-ibni.
700-694.—Ashur-nadin-shum.
694-693.—Nergal-usheshib.
692-689.—Mushezib-Marduk.
668-648.—Shamash-shum-ukin.
648-626.—Kandalu.

Assyria was founded from Babylonia; we have a definite series of kings only from about 2000 B.C.

B.C. 2000.—Irishum.
1840.—Ishme-Dagan.
1820.—Shamshi-Ramman.
1700.—Samsi-Ramman.
1450.—Ashur-bel-nisheshu.

B.C. 1425.—Puzur-Ashur.
1400.—Ashur-uballit.
1400.—Bel-nirari.
1350.—Arik-den-ilu.
1325.—Ramman-nirari I.
1300.—Shalmaneser I.
1275.—Tukilti-Ninib I.
1210.—Bel-kudur-usur.
1200.—Ashur-dan.
1150.—Mutakkil-Nusku.
1140.—Ashur-resh-ishi.
1100.—Tiglath-Pileser I.
1080.—Shamshi-Ramman I.
1080.—Ashur-bel-kala.
950.—Tiglath-Pileser II.

From this period onwards we have the assistance of the *Eponym Canon*.

930-911.—Ashur-dan II.
911-890.—Ramman-nirari II.
890-885.—Tukulti-Ninib II.
885-860.—Ashur-nasir-pal.
860-825.—Shalmaneser II.
825-812.—Shamshi-Ramman II.
812-783.—Ramman-nirari III.
783-773.—Shalmaneser III.
773-754.—Ashur-dan III.
754-745.—Ashur-nirari.
745-727.—Tiglath-Pileser III.
727-722.—Shalmaneser IV.
722-705.—Sargon.
705-681.—Sennacherib.
681-668.—Esarhaddon.
668-626.—Ashur-bani-pal.

About 606 B.C., Ninive, and with it the Assyrian Empire, fell. It was succeeded by the *Neo-Babylonian* Empire.

626-604.—Nabopolassar.
604-561.—Nebuchadnezzar II.
561-559.—Evil-Merodach.
559-556.—Neriglissar.
556-555.—Labashi-Marduk.
555-538.—Nabonidus.

After the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538, the

Neo-Babylonian Empire passed over into that of the *Persians.*

538-529.—Cyrus the Great
529-522.—Cambyses.
521-485.—Darius Hystaspis, or the Great.
485-465.—Xerxes.
465-424.—Artaxerxes I. Longimanus

For the remaining Persian kings see the *Introduction* to the Books of Esdras and Nehemias.

Egypt. The history of Egypt must always have a peculiar fascination for the Biblical student owing to the intimate relations subsisting between that country and Palestine. Here, however, we can only give a very brief *resumé* of the history. It is certain that the land on either bank of the Nile was occupied in Palæolithic times, but we know nothing of those early inhabitants. The Neolithic age and the history of pre-Dynastic Egypt is now being studied, but the results of these studies are not yet systematised. The names of pre-Dynastic kings are known to us but their order and date are still disputed; we only know for certain that independent sovereigns ruled in the north and south, and that it was not till the close of the neolithic period that all Egypt was united under one king whose name is given as Mena. From his time, Manetho, the Egyptian historian who wrote under Ptolemy Philadelphos, c. 286 B.C., enumerates thirty-one Dynasties, the representatives of which ruled, some of them in the north and some of them in the south, and sometimes over the whole land. But the dates at which these kings reigned are much disputed, though a tolerable degree of certainty has been arrived at for certain periods. The periods best known to us at present are those of Dynasties IV-VI.; XII-XIII.; XVIII-XIX.; and XXVI-XXX. It is usual to divide Egyptian history into three main periods: the *Ancient Empire*, embracing Dynasties I-XI., approximately B.C. 4400-2466; the *Middle Empire*, Dynasties XII-XVII., B.C. 2466-1700; and lastly, the *New Empire*, Dynasties XVIII-XXXI., B.C. 1600-336. To these periods we should add that of the Ptolemies from B.C. 304-30, at which latter date Egypt became a Province of the Roman Empire.

Dynasties I-II. reigned at This, but we know little of them. Dynasties III-IV. at Memphis; we know little of the former, but the kings of the IV. Dynasty are famous for the Pyramids which they erected, *Snefru* built a pyramid at Dahshur, and also one at Medum, in which he was probably buried. He conquered the Sudan and opened up the copper and turquoise mines in the Sinai peninsular. His successor, Chu-fu, or *Cheops*, was the builder of the Great Pyramid, and perhaps hewed out the Sphinx; *Chephren* built the Second Pyramid, and Men-kau-Ra, or *Mycerinos*, the third. This pyramid was opened in 1838, and the sarcophagus and mummy shipped to England, but a storm in the Adriatic wrecked the ship and the sarcophagus was lost; the fragments of the coffin and mummy were, however, recovered, and may be seen in the British Museum. This very early period was marked by wonderful progress in the arts, as the pyramids themselves would alone be sufficient to prove. Dynasty XI. c. 2600, in Thebes. These kings are called either Antef or Mentu-hotep. *Mentu-hotep II.* was a great king and appears to have extended his sway throughout Egypt. He founded a temple at Deir el-Bahari, a site which afterwards became famous. The time which elapsed between the close of the VIth. Dynasty and the rise of the XIIth. is differently estimated, some putting it at over 600 years, others making it considerably less.

The *Middle Empire* may be conveniently said to commence with the XIIth. Dynasty, perhaps the most glorious of all. The kings are either named Amenemhat or Usertsen. *Amenemhat I.* has left us a famous writing called 'Instructions,' it is very similar in some respects to the Book of Ecclesiasticus. *Usertsen I.* founded a temple at On, the classical Heliopolis, one of the obelisks he there erected is still standing and is 65 feet in height. The greatest king of the Dynasty was *Usertsen III.*, c. 2333. He conquered the Sudan, and exploited the gold mines of that district. He also repaired many temples and erected others. *Amenemhat III.* reigned fifty years and did much to further the cultivation of the arts. To him was due the formation of the reservoir in the Fayoum, known as Lake Moeris, it was 750 square miles in area; to

him is also attributed the famous Labyrinth. During this period we find the art of the IVth. and Vth. Dynasties reproduced and brought to a very great pitch of perfection.

With the close of the XIIth. Dynasty we come to a time of the greatest obscurity, and at present we know very little indeed concerning the period covered by Dynasties XIII-XVII. Manetho tells us that Dynasty XIII. lasted 453 years, and came from Thebes; that Dynasty XIV. came from Xois and lasted 184 (or 484) years; and that Dynasties XV-XVII. lasted respectively 284, 518, and 151 years; he terms these three latter 'Shepherd Dynasties,' see Josephus c. *Apion* 1, 14. Our lack of information regarding these 'Shepherd' kings is peculiarly unfortunate, for they cover a large portion of the period during which the Israelites sojourned in Egypt. There seems to be no doubt that the title 'Hyksos' which Josephus, following Manetho, renders 'Shepherds,' is a compound Egyptian word 'Hequ-Shasu,' i.e., 'Sheiks of the Nomads.' All that we can say for certain is that after the close of the XIIth. Dynasty, a period of anarchy set in, that the Nomad tribes from the desert lying to the north-east of the Delta gradually encroached upon Egypt, and drove the previously reigning kings towards the south, and that they by degrees adopted the habits of the subject people; by these latter, however, they were detested, see Gen. xlii. 34. Josephus gives us various names, such as *Salatis*, *Apophis*, and *Assis*, for individual kings of these Dynasties. Recent excavations have corroborated Josephus' statement that the 'Shepherds' fortified Avaris on the east side of the Delta, but whether this was done to resist the attacks of the kings from the south or as a protection against the Nomads from the desert is not clear. The southern kings, however, gradually drove back the 'Shepherds,' and the XVIIIth. Dynasty appears to have been founded by *Amasis*, their final conqueror.

With the XVIIIth. Dynasty the *New Empire* commences, c. 1600 B.C. The principal names are Amenhotep and Thothmes. *Amen-hotep I.* was the founder of the priestly caste at Thebes which was later to exercise so potent an influence over the destinies of Egypt. *Thothmes I.*, c. 1550, warred in Syria, and

was apparently the first Egyptian king to do so. *Thothmes II.* married *Hatshepset*, one of the most famous queens in Egypt. She succeeded him, and was the founder of another famous temple at Deir el-Bahari, and also the inaugurator of an historic expedition to the *Land of Punt.* She was succeeded by *Thothmes III.*, the conqueror of Syria and the invader of Asia, possibly even of India. Famous as a conqueror, he was even more so as a builder. To him we owe the glorious columns at Karnak and the obelisk now standing on the Thames' embankment and known as *Cleopatra's Needle. Amen-hotep III.* generally called Amenophis III., is well-known to us as one of the kings to whom we owe the *Tell-el-Amarna* correspondence. He married a queen almost as famous as Hatshepset, namely, *Thi-i.* To him we owe the temple at Luxor and the world-renowned 'Memmon,' as the Greeks called it. This was the northern of the two statues of himself which the king set up outside a temple known as the 'Memnonium'; owing to some flaw (?) in the stone the wind at sunrise caused the statue to emit a peculiar sound. His son *Amenophis IV.* was the originator of the worship of the Sun's Disc, hence he took the name of *Khu-en-Aten.* He established himself at a place near the modern Tell-el-Amarna. The cult of the Sun was a monotheistic cult, and its intolerance caused a revolt on the part of the priests of the God Amen at Thebes, this revolt brought about the subsequent downfall of the XVIIIth. Dynasty.

The XIXth. Dynasty was founded about 1370 by *Ramses I.* He was succeeded by *Seti I.*, who made a conquering raid into Syria, and took the city of Kadesh on the Orontes. His successor was the most famous of all the Pharaohs, *Ramses II.*, known to the Greeks as *Sesostris.* A great conqueror, a lavish builder, he reigned 67 years, and covered all Egypt with memorials of himself. His conquest—a doubtful one—of the Hittites, at Kadesh, was celebrated by the court poet, *Pentaur,* in a triumphal ode which has come down to us. The best-known monuments of Ramses II. are the colossal figures at Abu-Simbel, facing the river, and carved to commemorate his conquest of the Hittites. He finished the Hall of Columns

at Karnak, and he also built Tanis and Pithom, cf. Exod. i. 11. Though the art of this period is perhaps the best known, it is certainly inferior to that of the IVth., Vth., and XIIth. Dynasties. A period of decay had set in, and the artists of the time must be termed imitators rather than originators. Ramses II. was succeeded by his son, *Meren-ptah*, who is commonly regarded as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, while his father was the Pharaoh of the oppression. The difficulties which may be urged against this view may be stated briefly: according to the chronology now generally accepted, Ramses II. reigned till about 1330. This would assign the Exodus of the Hebrews to the end of the fourteenth century B.C., instead of to the beginning of the fifteenth according to the traditional chronology. This only leaves us 200 years, approximately, between the Exodus and the foundation of the temple. Not only is it difficult to fit into this short period all the events assigned to it in the Pentateuch, Josue, Judges, and I. Sam.—III. Kgs. vi., but the Bible seems positively to demand a far longer period, cf. Judges xi. 26, and III. Kgs. vi. 1. Hence there have not been wanting critics who would refer the oppression to Thothmes III., whose reign is assigned on astronomical grounds to the years 1503-1449. Moreover, he was a great builder, and he also lived a very long time, thus agreeing with Exod. ii. 23. Further, a recently-discovered stele of Meren-Ptah speaks of the Israelites as though already established in Palestine. Again, in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, we have constant reference to the *Khabiri*, who were a source of vexation to the Governors of the southern districts. It is possible, of course, that the word 'Khabiri' may signify merely some 'confederates,' and that we have the same word in the city of *Hebron* or 'the confederate town.'

Meren-Ptah had to meet an attack upon Egypt from a combined host of peoples from the Mediterranean sea-board, and it seems that, though victorious, the XIXth. Dynasty found itself in troublous times and was thus, about 1200 B.C., compelled to give way to the XXth. Dynasty which, however, fared no better. Thus we find that *Ramses III.* had to defend his country against the same hordes

from the Mediterranean. To him succeeded a number of kings who all bore the name of Ramses, and who gradually succumbed to the influence of the priest-kings of Thebes, with the result that the country was once more divided into the kingdoms of the North and South. The period from about B.C. 1050-800 is shrouded in obscurity, and this, as in the case of the Hyksos Dynasties, at a period when Israel had close connections with the country. At the close of the XXIst. Dynasty, *Shashanq*, the Sesac of III. Kgs. xiv. 25 and II. Paral. xii., seized upon the throne of the northern kingdom and founded the XXIInd. Dynasty, about 950 B.C. Jeroboam fled to his court, III. Kgs. xi. 40, and soon afterwards Shashanq invaded Juda and stripped the temple. He caused an account of this expedition to be graven on the walls of the gateway of the temple at Karnak where it still remains, with a list of the Palestinian towns captured. A son of Shashanq was named *Osorkon I.*, and it is possible that he is the *Zara* of II. Paral. xiv., whom Asa repulsed. The XXIIIrd. and XXIVth. Dynasties are unimportant, but with the XXVth. we are again in contact with kings who figure in the Bible. Thus *Shabaco*, the founder of the Dynasty, is probably to be identified with *Sua* or *So* in IV. Kgs. xvii. 4, with whom Osee, king of the Ten Tribes, endeavoured to ally himself against Shalmaneser IV. His seals have been found at Ninive, and he may be identified with the Sibe who was attacked by Sargon in 720. To the same XXVth. Dynasty belongs *Tirhaka*, c. 693, *Tharaca* in our version; he was an ally of Ezechias, IV. Kgs. xix. 9; defeated by Esarhaddon, he returned to the conflict on the latter's death, but was finally routed by Assur-bani-pal, who captured Thebes in 668. At this time, as is apparent from Isaias, Palestine lay between the two contending powers, Assyria and Egypt, and the politicians of Palestine were in doubt as to which party to favour. The whole teaching of the Prophets of these times consists in a repudiation of all alliance with Egypt, since from thence God had brought out their fathers, while on the other hand the Assyrian, and later the Babylonian, was the appointed instrument of divine vengeance; to them the Chosen People must submit.

About B.C. 666 the XXVIth. Dynasty arose. Its founder was *Psammetichus I.* He was the enemy of the Assyrians, and the first to introduce mercenaries into Egypt where he settled Carian and Ionian soldiers. At the same time he encouraged Greek art by placing a Greek colony in Naukratis. He was succeeded by *Necho*, who slew Josias, IV. Kgs. xxiii., but was in turn defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish on the Euphrates. Later came *Hophra*, or Apries, Ephree in our Bible. Sedecias was told by Jeremias, xliii. 30, not to rely on his aid against Nebuchadnezzar. *Psammetichus III.* was put to death by Cambyses, son of Cyrus, and Egypt became a province of Persia. Thus the XXVIIth. Dynasty is Persian, and its kings are Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I., and Darius II., in whose time *Amyrtæus*, founder of the XXVIIIth. Dynasty, overthrew the Persians. His Dynasty was followed by the XXIXth. from Mendes, and by the XXXth. from Sebennytus. The principal king of this Dynasty was *Nectanebo I.*, who was a patron of art. In B.C. 358 the Persians, under Artaxerxes III., again obtained possession of Egypt for a short time, but were finally expelled by *Alexander the Great*, who in 331, founded the city of Alexandria. Ptolemy Lagi, his vicegerent, governed the country for Philip Arrhidæus and Alexander II. But after the settlement of the country at the death of Alexander II., the dynasty of the Ptolemies was established. They brought prosperity to Egypt, and encouraged the arts. A very brief sketch of the period must suffice.

Ptolemy I., Soter, B.C. 304-286, is chiefly famous as the founder of the library at Alexandria, where there were said to have been at a later time 400,000 volumes! *Ptolemy III.*, Philadelphus, 286-246, built the Pharos at Alexandria. In his time the LXX. translation was begun, and in his time too, Manetho the historian wrote. The reign of *Ptolemy V.*, Epiphanes, 205-173, is of interest owing to the famous *Rosetta stone* on which were engraved the Decrees of the priests enacting that special honours be paid him in return for the interest he had shown in the temples. One of the copies of this Decree was discovered in 1798, and from its discovery dates the decipherment of the Egyptian Hiero-

glyphic system by the Englishman, Young, and the Frenchman, Champollion. *Ptolemy VII.*, Philometor, reigned from 181-146; during his reign the fugitive priest, *Onias IV.*, built a temple at On, or Heliopolis, a site recently excavated by Flinders Petrie, who discovered the remains of the temple, it was modelled on that at Jerusalem. *Ptolemy IX.*, Euergetes II., reigned from 170(146)-117. In his reign *Ecclesiasticus* was translated into Greek by Ben-Sira, it had been written in Hebrew in Palestine about 180 B.C. Euergetes was commonly known as 'Physcon,' or 'the Fat.' Under *Ptolemy XIV.* Egypt passed under the protection of the Romans, Pompey being appointed guardian of the boy Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra. In 48 B.C., Cæsar defeated Ptolemy and, in 45, Cleopatra murdered *Ptolemy XV.* Last of all came *Ptolemy XVI.*, son of Cæsar and Cleopatra. In B.C. 30, Egypt became a Roman Province.

We append a list of some of the principal kings of Egypt. The most interesting of all are the so-called pre-Dynastic kings, but as nearly every statement made concerning them up to the present has been disputed we must be content to omit them.

DYNASTY I. c. B.C. 4400.

Mena.
Teta.
Sen.

DYNASTY II. c. B.C. 4133.

Perabsen.

DYNASTY III. c. B.C. 3966.

Tcheser.

DYNASTY IV. c. B.C. 3733.

Sneferu.
Khufu (Cheops).
Khaf-Ra (Chephren).
Menkau-Ra (Mycerinus).

DYNASTY V. c. B.C. 3566

Unas.

DYNASTY VI. c. B.C. 3330.

Teta.
Pepi I.
Pepi II

DYNASTY XI. c. B.C. 2600.

Antef I.
Antef II.
Mentu-Hotep I-VII.

DYNASTY XII. c. B.C. 2466.

Amenemhat I.
Usertsen I.
Amenemhat II.
Usertsen III.
Amenemhat III.

DYNASTY XVIII. c. B.C. 1600.

Amenophis I.
Thothmes I.
Thothmes II.
Hatshepset.
Thothmes III.
Amenophis II.
Thothmes IV.
Amenophis III.
Amenophis IV.

DYNASTY XIX. c. B.C. 1350.

Ramses I.
Seti I.
Ramses II.
Meren-Ptah.

DYNASTY XX. c. B.C. 1200.

Ramses III-XII.

DYNASTY XXII. c. B.C. 966.

Shashanq (Sesac).
Osorkon I. (Zara?).
Osorkon II.

DYNASTY XXV. c. B.C. 700.

Piankhi.
Shabaka (So?),
Taharqa (Tirhaka).

DYNASTY XXVI. c. B.C. 666.

Psammetichus I.
Necho.
Psammetichus II.
Hophra.
Amasis.
Psammetichus III.

DYNASTY XXVII. c. B.C. 527.

Cambyses.
Darius Hystaspes.
Xerxes I.
Artaxerxes I., Longimanus.
Darius II.

DYNASTY XXVIII.

Amyrtaeus.

DYNASTY XXX. B.C. 378.

Nectanebo I.
Nectanebo II.

DYNASTY XXXI. B.C. 336.

Darius III.

THE MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

Ptolemy I., Soter, B.C. 304-286.
Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, 286-246.
Ptolemy III., Euergetes I., 246-222.
Ptolemy IV., Philopator, 222-205.
Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, 205-173.
Ptolemy VI., Eupator, 173.
Ptolemy VII., Philometor, 173-147.
Ptolemy VIII., 147.
Ptolemy IX., Euergetes II., 147-117.
Ptolemy X., 117.
Ptolemy XI., 117-87.
Ptolemy XII., 87-80.
Ptolemy XIII., 80-51.
Ptolemy XIV., 51-48.
Ptolemy XV., 48-45.
Ptolemy XVI., 45-30.

The Hittites.—The real character of this nation has been one of the surprises of the last fifty years of Biblical research. Hitherto it had been known only from the Bible, and the information there given was meagre in the extreme. Heth is mentioned in Gen. x. 15, as a son of Chanaan. In the time of Abraham the Hittites were prominent at Hebron, and in Gen. xv. we have the life-like account of the bartering between Abraham and the children of Heth for the cave of Machpelah. Later, Rebecca complains of the behaviour of the daughters of Heth whom Esau had married, Gen. xxvi. 34-35, xxvii. 46. In Gen. xv. 19-21, the Hittites are mentioned as one of the ten nations whom God promises to dispossess in favour of the Israelites; it is perhaps in consequence of the subordinate part they play here, as only one out of ten—and those petty—tribes or nations, that the Hittites have hitherto been denied their proper place in history. Yet the Bible in no sense confines the Hittites to the South; Jos. 1. 4, shows them in the North as well, it indeed is termed 'the land of the Hittites,' cf. ix. 1, xi. 3, xii. 8, Jud. iii. 5. Another indication of their subordinate position was found in the fact that David numbered among his soldiers at least two Hittites, Achimelech, I. Sam. xxvi. 6, and Urias, II. Sam. xi. 3, etc. Moreover, they are never mentioned as waging war against Israel, though on one occasion we read that the Syrians feared lest the king of Israel should have hired against them the kings of the Hittites and the Egyptians, III. Kgs. vii. 6; a similar bracketing together of these two nations occurs in III. Kgs. x. 29. The Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, however, have shown us that the Hittites in the south of Palestine were but a branch of a mighty Empire which had its origin in Cappadocia, and which spread from Lydia in the West to the Euphrates in the East. In the Egyptian annals they are first mentioned by Thothmes III., 1503-1449 B.C.; this king tells us that he exacted tribute from 'the Greater' Hittite land. About 1340 B.C., we find Ramses II. waging war with the Hittites at Kadesh on the Orontes, and though the Pharaoh, as usual, claims the victory, the treaty which he subsequently signed was an offensive and defensive alliance. In the Assyrian annals they

first appear about 1100 B.C., viz., in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., who defeated them at Carchemish on the Euphrates. From that time until the close of the eighth century B.C. a constant war waged between the Hittites and the Assyrians who finally, under Sargon, broke their power by the capture of Carchemish. The last historical mention of them in the Bible occurs in IV. Kgs., vii. 6, where the Syrians fear lest the kings of the Hittites should be hired against them. At a later period, we find Ezechiel, xvi. 2, referring to the Hittites of the South when he says that the mother of Jerusalem was a Hittite. Recent excavations in Cappadocia, especially at Boghazkoi, have fully confirmed the information supplied by the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. We find traces of a vast empire and of an advanced civilisation. Their writing was pictographic, and has up to the present defied the efforts of investigators.

The Philistines are in some respects the most interesting as well as the most mysterious of the peoples surrounding Israel. In Gen. x. 14, I. Paral. i. 12, Amos ix. 7, Jer. xlvii. 4, and Deut. ii. 23, they are spoken of as coming out of Caphtor—sometimes identified with Cappadocia, and are in this respect allied with the Hivites, Deut. ii. 23. This Caphtor has been understood to be a portion of the Egyptian Delta, but it is more probably to be identified with Crete. The now famous vase, called 'of the harvesters,' and found at Haghia Triada in Crete, shows a people with features remarkably similar to those assigned to the Philistines in an inscription of Ramses III. who defeated these latter. It is generally maintained that the Philistines came to Palestine as a result of their attack upon Egypt in the time of Ramses III., c. 1200 B.C., but Gen. xxvi. 18, and Exod. xiii. 17, make it practically certain that they were in Palestine long before the thirteenth century B.C. Thus we notice that just as the Israelites could not enter Palestine 'by the way of the Philistines,' so neither was the body of Jacob brought from Egypt by that simpler route but by the east of Jordan, Gen. 1, 10, 13. The 'land of the Philistines' extended from Joppe to Gaza along the coast, and even when they were the suzerains

of Israel they never seem to have troubled to take up positions much further inland. Their five principal cities were Geth, Azotus, Accaron, Gaza, and Ascalon, all of which lay in the plain country reaching to the foot of the low round hills known as the Shephelah. These hills served as a dividing line between Israel and the Philistines, and in all the fluctuations of the centuries during which they dwelt side by side neither people ever acquired any permanent footing in the territory of the other. The position of the Philistines compelled them to be agriculturalists, Jud. xv. 3; it also compelled them to be a military nation. For they were practically on the high road between Egypt and Asia, and in consequence suffered severely from both the Egyptians and the Assyrians. All through the period of the Judges the Philistines harassed Israel, cf. Jud. iii. 31, x. 6, xiii-xvi. This conflict continued throughout the days of Samuel and Saul, I. Sam. iv-vii., and xiii-xiv. In the days of Eli they captured the ark and were punished by God for doing so. The early days of David's reign in Jerusalem were spent in driving back these inveterate enemies who wished to keep Israel in subjection for their own ends; in II. Sam. viii. 1, we are told that David finally broke their power, and in xxi. 15-22, we have accounts of his various assaults on them. At a later period the Northern kingdom waged war upon them, III. Kgs. xv. 27, xvi. 15, and in II. Paral. xvii. 11, Josaphat compels them to pay tribute. But though their power was thus broken by Israel, the latter never obtained any real permanent suzerainty over them. Always a military nation, the Philistines played no coward's part when the Assyrians ravaged the West. We find them allied with the Egyptians against Sargon at the battle of Raphia in 720 B.C., and in 711 we find the Azotians forming a league with the rest of Philistia, and with Juda, Edom, Moab, and Egypt, against the same implacable foe. A century later, Azotus endured a siege of twenty-nine years at the hands of Psammetichus I. Little more is known of the nation after that time, but the district in which they lived was always, from its unique position, a scene of strife.

The form of government among the Philistines was peculiar; in Jos. xiii. 2-3, Jud. xvi. 5, I. Sam. vi. 16,

their territory is represented as divided into five provinces the heads of which have a peculiar—presumably a Philistine—name, viz., Seranim. At the same time Achis is called 'king' of Geth in I. Sam. xxvii. 2, etc., and he seems not to be one of the five 'Lords' if we are to judge by xxix. 2-7; at the same time he is compelled to yield to their decision. At a later period we only hear of their 'kings' and not of their 'lords,' cf. Jer. xxv. 20, Zach. ix. 5. In I. Sam. iv-vii., xiii-xiv., and Jud. xiv-xvi., they are pictured as wealthy and living at ease; they have a popular temple-worship, and a famous deity, Dagon, whose worship was continued down to Maccabean times, I. Mac. x. 81-84, xi. 4. The fame of Beelzebub, too, god of Accaron, extended even to Israel, IV. Kgs. i. 2; while the diviners of Philistia seem to have been regarded by the Hebrews almost as were the Chaldean sages at a later period, I. Sam. vi. 2, Is. ii. 6. No excavations have as yet been made in districts belonging to the Philistines, though it was hoped that Tell-es-Safi would prove to be Gath, a hope which was not destined to be realised. Still it is remarkable that hitherto no remains of the Philistines should have been recovered. Mr. Macalister, however, discovered two graves in the neighbourhood of Gezer, which he assigns with great probability to Philistines; the mode of burial was different from that usually adopted and the grave-furniture was rich—as might have been expected.

Phoenicia and the Phoenicians.—The Phoenicians are never mentioned by name in O.T., nor is their land called Phoenicia, till the time of the Maccabbees, II. Macc. iii. 5. We hear only of the Tyrians, Sidonians, Aradites, and Gebalites, etc. For, like the Philistines, the Phoenicians dwelt in cities which, save for a certain hegemony exercised now by one now by another, led a separate life and were independent of one another. Their origin is involved in obscurity. According to their own traditions they came from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf. It is probable that the 'land of the Punt,' which figures so largely in Egyptian history, represents a branch of these early Phoenicians, who settled in S. Arabia. In the Bible, Jud. xviii. 7, they are described as a peace-loving people, and this accords with their whole

history. They were essentially a nation of traders, Ezechiel xxvi-xxix., and this led to the establishment of numerous colonies which dotted the whole Mediterranean littoral, prominent among them being, of course, Carthage. As the great carriers of the ancient world, they acquired a reputation as originators of various arts, but it is practically certain that they originated nothing. Thus glass was known centuries before by the Egyptians. As for the alphabet, it is probable that the share taken by the Phoenicians lay in adapting previously existing pictorial scripts. Whether the forms of the letters were derived from the Egyptian or from the Babylonian methods of writing is still a vexed question.

Phoenicia proper extended from the Orontes in the North to Mt. Carmel in the South. This is a strip of about 230 miles in length, and nowhere, as far as the plain is concerned, more than 6 miles broad. The hill slopes were, of course, occupied, but with the exception of the passage in Jud. xviii., the Phoenicians do not seem to have lived inland.

At what time they came to the West, we have no means of determining. The Tell-el-Amarna letters shew that the same towns were famous then as later; we read of the petty sovereigns of Tyre, Beyrout, Sidon, Acco, etc.; but they were all under the suzerainty of Egypt, though rapidly passing from under her dominion. From the exclusive mention of Sidon in Genesis, Josue, and Judges, we may conclude that this city held the supremacy at that period. According to Josephus, who has preserved for us in part the records of Menander the historian of Tyre, the era of that city commenced in 1197 B.C.

In the Bible history the Phoenicians play a very secondary part precisely because of their peaceful character. In fact until the days of Solomon they are only mentioned as forming the Northern boundary of Israel, Gen. x. 19, xlix. 13, Jos. xi. 8, xix. 28, etc. In Solomon's reign, however, they begin to play a fatal part. In III. Kgs. v. 13-18, we read of the immense number of Israelites who were sent to work in the Phoenician timber-yards, and of the Phoenicians who came to work in Jerusalem. To this intercourse is undoubtedly to be attributed the gradual

leavening of the Chosen People with idolatry. And this influence culminated when Achab, III. Kgs. xvi. 31, 'took to wife Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians; and he went and served Baal and adored him.' Nor was the effect of this marriage confined to Israel, for Joram, son of Josaphat king of Juda, married Athalia, daughter of Achab and Jezebel, IV. Kgs. viii. 18. From that time onward, the Phoenicians exercised no practical influence on Israel. Like all the nations of the West, they suffered severely at the hands of the Assyrians, we even find their forces leagued with those of Achab at the famous battle of Qarqar, in 854 B.C. Thenceforward every king of Assyria seems to have waged war against Phoenicia and exacted tribute from the unhappy country. The terrible siege of Tyre by Nebuchodonosor II. is referred to by Ezechiel xxix. 18-20. Later the Persians made use of the Phoenician navy, and kept them in subjection until the time of Alexander the Great whose siege of Tyre is told by Josephus, *Ant.* XI. viii. 4. On the death of Alexander, Phoenicia passed from one master to another, until in 198, it passed to the Seleucidan kings, see II. Macc. iii. iv. x. In 65 B.C., the Romans took possession and the Province of Syria was formed.

The Phoenicians were of the Canaanite stock, Gen. x. 15, I. Paral. i. 13; their language was, in consequence, very similar to that of the Hebrews. An immense number of Phoenician inscriptions have come down to us either from Phoenicia itself or from their colonies. Few of these are of historical importance, and only one, the so-called Baal-Lebanon inscription, is early. With the exception of the last-named, which belongs to the ninth century, they are all to be assigned to the fourth century and later. The best known of these is the inscription on the tomb of Eshmunasar king of Sidon. But all are of interest for the light they throw on the Hebrew and kindred languages.

The Moabites. Like the children of Ammon the Moabites were of the same stock as the Hebrews, Gen. xix. 37; and, again like the Ammonites, they were, with the exception of a brief period in the reign of David, implacable enemies of the Chosen People. They occupied the table land to the East of the Dead Sea, the

'Mishor,' as it is termed in Jos. xiii. 16; their boundaries fluctuated from time to time, thus in Nbs. xxi. 13, we find them driven to the south of the Arnon by the Amorrhites at the same time that these latter dispossessed the Ammonites and drove them towards the desert. Deut. ii. 10-11 informs us that previous to the occupation of this territory by the Moabites, it was held by the Emim of the race of giants. When the Israelites advanced from Sinai, they were forbidden to attack either Moab or Ammon, Deut. ii., but because of the hostility of these two peoples to Israel, they were absolutely excluded from the church, Deut. xxiii. 3-5. In the time of the Judges, both Moab and Ammon were among the oppressors of Israel, Jud. iii. 12-13, and Eglon king of Moab possessed Jericho. Saul conquered them, I. Sam. xiv. 47, and this may have been the reason why David was able to entrust his parents to the safe-keeping of Moab, I. Sam. xxii. 3-4. This friendship did not last long, however, and in II. Sam. viii. 2, we find David conquering Moab. Later on we are told of a combination of Moab, Ammon, and Edom against Josaphat, II. Paral. xx.; in IV. Kgs. i. and iii. Mesha, king of Moab, is described as breaking the league he had made with Israel, i.e., the kingdom of the north; the story of this revolt and its consequences is also told us on the Moabite Stone, *q.v.* It seems that from this time onwards Moab enjoyed a great deal of prosperity. When the invasion of Sennacherib is imminent, the destruction of Moab is foretold by Isaias xv., xvi., and xxv. 10, and we find Sennacherib himself mentioning them as subject to him. But Jeremias, xlviii., describes them as very powerful, and, while their destruction is foretold, their ultimate redemption is also insisted on. When Jerusalem is besieged by the Chaldeans, Moab joins with Ammon in harrying the beleaguered people, IV. Kgs. xxiv. 2. After the Restoration we find the Israelites uniting themselves in marriage with the Moabites and Ammonites; but from that time onwards Moab hardly appears in Bible history, in the time of the Maccabees, indeed, they are not mentioned.

The Ammonites. From Gen. xix. 38, we gather that this nation, like the Moabites, was of the same stock as the Hebrews. They are nearly always referred

to as 'the children of Ammon'; the Hebrews first came into conflict with them when, at the close of the wanderings, they sought permission to pass through their land. This permission was refused, and in consequence it was enacted that even after the tenth generation neither Moab nor Ammon should enter the church, Deut. xxiii. 3-4, Neh. xiii. 1-2, Nbs. xxii. 5. The Ammonites themselves had been ousted from the land between the Arnon and the Jabboc by the Amorrhites under Sehon, Nbs. xxi. 26, and in Jud. xi. 3, we find the Ammonites claiming the restoration of this territory as though it had in reality been taken from them by the Hebrews and not by the Amorrhites. From Deut. ii. 19, we learn that this same land had been previously occupied by a race of giants called —in the Ammonite tongue—'Zomzommim'; Og, king of Basan, would seem, Deut. iii. 11, to have belonged to this stock. With the exception of one brief period during the reign of David, II. Sam. x. 2, the Ammonites were always bitterly hostile to Israel. We find them opposed to Saul, I. Sam. xi. 11; to Josaphat, II. Paral. xx. 1; to Joatham, who made them pay a heavy tribute, II. Paral. xxvii. 5; and, when the kingdom of Juda was in its death-agony, Moab and Ammon combined with the Chaldeans to harry their borders. Even after the fall of Jerusalem, we find the king of Ammon conspiring to kill Godolias the governor, Jer. xl. 14. At a later period, when Nehemias was engaged in rebuilding the walls, Tobias the Ammonite was his most determined enemy, Neh. ii., iv., vi. And this senseless hatred of the Jews was persevered in till the end, thus we find the Ammonites leaguing with Timotheus against them, I. Macc. v. 6. It is remarkable that in Dan. xi. 41, Edom, Moab and Ammon are alone to be exempted from the sway of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Syria, The Syrians, Mesopotamia, Padan-Aram, The Arameans. In Gen. x. 22-23, Aram is the son of Sem; in xxii. 21, he is described as the son of Camuel, son of Nachor, and therefore as nephew of Abraham. The Arameans were perhaps the most widely diffused of all the peoples of the East; the Assyrians restricted the name to the tribes dwelling to the

East of the Euphrates, those to the West were known as Hittites or Amorrhites. In the Bible the term 'Aramean' or 'Syrian' is, on the contrary, applied only to the people to the West of the Euphrates. There were different Aramean districts or states, and different names are used for them in the Bible. The Douay version, following the Vulgate, has 'Mesopotamia of Syria' for the Padan-Aram of the Hebrew, Gen. xxviii., etc. Padan-Aram signifies 'the field of Aram,' and is probably the same as the Aram-naharaim, or 'Aram of the two rivers,' i.e., Tigris and Euphrates, mentioned in Gen. xxiv. 10, Deut. xxiii. 4, etc., cf. Osee xii. 12, where we have *Sede-Aram*, i.e., 'the field of Aram.' This term is practically co-extensive with the Mitanni and Nahrima of the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions respectively. This kingdom extended from the East of the Euphrates to the Orontes. In the early days of the Hebrew monarchy these Syrian states banded together against David, II. Sam. vii-x.; in the story of these campaigns the several states are distinguished, thus we have Syria of Soba, II. Sam. viii., of Maacha, x. 8, and of Rohob, viii, 3, 12; and these, again, are apparently to be distinguished from those of Damascus, II. Sam. viii. 5, cf. I. Paral. xix. 16, where these allied Syrians are said to hire in desperation the Syrians 'from beyond the River,' i.e., the Euphrates. An examination of these different names will give us an idea of the extent of the Syrian domination. Thus for Maacha and Gessur see Deut. iii. 14; for Rohob see Nbs. xiii. 22, and Jud. xviii. 28, where it appears as a district, also Jud. i. 31, Jos. xix. 28, 30, xxi. 31, where it appears as a city.

The Syrian kingdom of Damascus seems to have been founded by Razon, son of a servant of Adarezer, in the time of Solomon, III. Kgs. xi. 23-25. From that time onwards, it was always hostile to Israel, and at one time seems to have practically claimed a species of suzerainty over the Northern kingdom, cf. III. Kgs. x., xi., xv., xx., xxii., and IV. Kgs. v-xv. This kingdom of Damascus swallowed up the other petty Syrian states, but in its turn invited the cupidity of Assyria, for Tiglath-Pileser captured it in 734 B.C., cf. IV. Kgs. xvi. 9. We know little of the fortunes of Damascus from that time till the coming of Christ. The Seleuci-

dan kings had established Antioch as their capital on the Orontes, but the unrivalled position of Damascus on the trade route between East and West enabled it ultimately to prevail over Antioch, so that while the latter is now but a miserable village, Damascus is a flourishing city. In the account of the Maccabean wars 'Syria' stands for the Seleucidan empire, cf. I. Macc. iii., vii., xi.; II. Macc. x.

The term 'Syriac' which occurs in the Douay version of Gen. xxxi. 47, IV. Kgs. xviii. 26, Is. xxxvi. 11, Esdras ii. 4, and II. Macc. xv. 37, stands for Aramaic, the language spoken throughout the north.

Edom, Idumæa, Mt. Seir, The Edomites, Esau. When Esau was born he was 'red,' i.e. Edom; he was also hairy, whence his name, 'Esau.' The district in which his descendants lived was termed 'Seir,' because it also was 'hairy' or 'rough,' Gen. xxv. 25-30, xxxvi. 8. The land of Idumæa embraces the mountains on either side of the depression known as the 'Arabah' which runs down from north of Mt. Hor to the Dead Sea; it owes its name to the red, 'Edom,' sandstone of which its rocks are composed. Previous to its occupation by the children of Esau, it was held by the Horrites or cave-dwellers, Deut. ii. 12, Gen. xiv. 6. Esau married one of these Horrites, Gen. xxxvi. 2, 20-21, in ver. 2 we should read 'Horrite' in place of 'Hivite,' as vv. 20-21 show. The Horrites appear to have first of all been governed by 'Dukes,' and this title was adopted by the descendants of Esau, xxxvi. 20-21. Later they had kings. It is interesting to note that in III. Kgs. xi. 14, we read of a Hadad 'of the king's stock,' while the genealogical table of kings in Gen. xxxvi. and I. Paral. i. closes with a Hadad or Hadar, these facts may indicate that this list was drawn up at that time. Though Israel was bidden to be on friendly terms with Esau, Deut. ii. 4-8, yet there seems to have been a perpetual conflict between the two peoples. Saul warred against them, I. Sam. xiv. 47; David did the same, II. Sam. viii. 13-14. In Solomon's time, Hadad of the royal Edomite stock, who had taken refuge in Egypt when David pillaged the land, returned and became a thorn in his side. It is not clear whether he actually became king, for in the time

of Josaphat we are told that 'there was no king in Edom; a deputy was king,' R.V.; under Joram, son of Josaphat, however, Edom revolted 'and made themselves a king,' IV. Kgs. viii. 20-22. Later on, Amasias inflicted terrible punishment on Edom, and captured Petra, IV. Kgs. xiv. 7. It must not be thought that these raids into Edom were merely by way of reprisal. Israel's great need was for a port, and Elath at the head of the Gulf of Akaba supplied this want; cf. III. Kgs. xxii. 49, and IV. Kgs. xiv. 22, xvi. 6, where we see how both the Southern and the Northern kingdom, as well as the Syrians, strove for its possession; but to hold Elath meant the subjugation of Edom. Like all the other nations of Palestine, Edom joined in revolt against the overwhelming power of the Assyrians; they suffered accordingly; and we find Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon punishing them successively. In the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, the Edomites appear to have taken part, at any rate they rejoiced in the miseries inflicted on their ancient enemy. This increased the resentment of Israel and, in spite of the fact that they had been bidden not to exclude the Idumæan from the church after the third generation, Deut. xxiii. 7-8, their hatred of their 'brother' grew more and more bitter, cp. Lam. iv. 21, Pss. cvii. cxxxvi., Amos i. 11, Abdias, Ezech. xxxv., and Ecclus. l. 28. This feeling grew until Esau stood for a type of the reprobate, Mal. i. 1-3, cp. Rom. ix. 13, Heb. xii. 16. At the time of the Wars of Independance under the Maccabees the Idumæans seem to have occupied Hebron and even the level country further West, see I. Macc. v. 3, 65, iv. 15, 61, vi. 31. It was certainly the irony of fate that an Idumæan by adoption, Antipas, should become the king of Judea, cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* I. vii. 11-13.

THE EAST DURING THE FOURTH AND THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

Centuries B.C.	Egypt	Syria	Assyria	Babylonia	Elam	The Mediterranean
				Sumero-Accadian Empire.	Semitic influence	Cretan Civilisation. Early Minoan i.
xxxviii	Dyn. iv. Pyramids of Gizeh			Sargon I. 3800 or 2800 Naram-Sin 3750 or 2750		Early Minoan ii.
	Dyn. xi.					Early Minoan iii.
xxv	Dyn. xii. c. 2500			Kingdom of Ur Gudea, c. 2500		Middle Minoan i.
					Foundation of Elamite Kingdom. Dynasty of the Khudurs.	Middle Minoan ii.
xxiii		Phoenicians and Canaanites enter.	Patesis or Priest-rulers	Elamitic domination		Middle Minoan iii.
xx				Foundation of First Babylonian Empire. Hammurabi.		

THE EAST DURING THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

Centuries B.C.	Egypt	Syria	Assyria	Babylonia	Elam	The Mediterranean
xx	Shepherd-Kings Dyn. xv. xvi. xvii.	Phoenicians in North. Hittites in Asia Minor and Palestine	Patesis or Priest-rulers.	Dynasty of Hammurabi.	Powerful Kingdom. Dynasty of the Khudurs.	Cretan Civilisation Late Minoan iii.
xviii	The Shepherd-Kings overthrown by Dyn. xvii. from Thebes.			Rise of the Kassites		
xvi	Dyn. xviii.					
xv		The Exodus of the Hebrews.	Early Kings			Mycenæan Civilisation.
xiv	Dyn. xix.					

CHAPTER V

DIVISIONS OF TIME

The week of seven days seems to have always been in use; we find it mentioned in Gen. ii. 8, viii. 10, xxix. 27, etc. The seventh day was the Sabbath or Day of Rest. It received peculiar sanction at the outset, Gen. ii. 1-3. The day was reckoned from evening to evening, Lev. xxiii. 32. That the Hebrews had some method of reckoning the lapse of time is evident from IV. Kgs. xx. 11. We find references to a threefold night-watch in Lam. ii. 19, 'in the beginning of the watches,' i.e., from sunset to 10.0; in Jud. vii. 19, 'the beginning of the midnight watch'; in Ps. cxxix., 'from the morning watch,' i.e. from 2.0 till sunrise.

The lunar month was observed, and its first day was a solemnity, IV. Kgs. iv. 24, Nbs. xxviii. 11, etc.

The civil year began with the seventh month, Ethanim or Tisri; the ritual year began with Nisan or Abib. The year was divided according to its agricultural seasons, and these are marked by the three great Feasts of, the *Passover* at the beginning of the barley-harvest and coinciding with the time of the Exodus, cf. Exod. xii. 1-14, xiii. 1-5, Lev. xiii. 5, Nbs. xxviii. 16, Deut. xvi. 1-9. With this Feast was connected the abstention from unleavened bread in commemoration of their hasty departure from Egypt, cf. Exod. xii. 15-20, xiii. 6-10. Next came the *Feast of Weeks*, or Pentecost, i.e., fifty days counted from the day after the uplifting of the sheaf of new barley at the Passover, Lev. xxiii. 10-14, 15-21, Nbs. xxviii. 26-31, Deut. xvi. 10-12. The third great Feast was

that of *Tabernacles*, which began on the fifteenth day of the seventh month; it was associated with the days of wandering in the desert, Lev. xxiii. 43, but was really the feast of ingathering of the fruit harvest; cf. Nbs. xxix. 12-38, Deut. xvi. 13-15. Historical observances of the Passover are mentioned in Ex. xii., Nbs. ix., Jos. v., and II. Paral. xxx. and xxxv. No historical allusions to the observance of Pentecost in O.T. times are given; Tabernacles is mentioned in III. Kgs. viii. 2, II. Paral. v. 3, vii. 8; Neh. viii. 14, and Zach. xiv. 16-19.

In addition, we have the Feast of *Purim*, kept on the 14th and 15th of Adar; the Feast of *Trumpets* on the 1st of Tisri; the Feast of the *re-Dedication* of the Temple, held on the 25th Casleu, and dating from the purification of the temple after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes.

There was only one *Fast* established by the Law, viz., that on the Day of Expiation, the 10th of Tisri, Lev. xvi. 1-34, xxiii. 27-32, Nbs. xxix. 7-11, cf. Acts xxvii. 9.

In all these Feasts the principle governing their relation to one another in time is the number seven, this is particularly evident in the *Sabbatical Year*, Lev. xxv. 2-7, and Deut. xv. 1-11, cf. xxxi. 10; on the Feast of Tabernacles in that year the Law was to be read. The *Year of Jubilee* began on the Day of Expiation in the 49th year and continued till the same day in the following year, Lev. xxv. 8-55.

THE HEBREW CALENDAR.

1. **ABIB.**	March-April. The 'latter rains,' Deut. 11. 14; the Jordan is in flood, Jos. iii. 15. 14th, Nisan the **Pasch** was held. 16th, the offering of the sheaf. 15th-21st, the **Days of Azymes.**	Abib is the Canaanite name for the first month of the Sacred year. Outside the Book of Exodus it is called by its Babylonian name of *Nisan*; in II. Mac. xi. 30, it is spoken of under the Macedonian name of *Xanthicus*.

2. **ZIV.** III. Kgs. vi. 37.	April-May. No rain till Ethanim, the seventh month. The barley-harvest is general. The Second Pasch, for those who were prevented from keeping it in Nisan, is observed.	Ziv is a Canaanite name, the later Babylonian equivalent was *Iyyar*, not mentioned in the Bible. It is generally spoken of as 'the second month.'
3. **SIVAN.** Esther viii. 9. Bar. i. 8.	May-June. The **Feast of Weeks**, or **Pentecost.** The first-fruits of the wheat-harvest.	Babylonian *Sivannu.*
4. **TAMMUZ.**	June-July.	
5. **AB.**	July-August.	
6. **ELUL.** Neh. vi. 15. I. Mac. xiv. 27.	August-September.	
7. **ETHANIM.** III. Kgs. viii. 2.	September-October. 'Early' rains begin, also frost, Gen. xxxi. 40. 1st of Ethanim the **Feast of Trumpets**, i.e. the New Year. 10th, **Day of Atonement.** 15th-21st, **Feast of Tabernacles.**	Ethanim is a Canaanite name ; its Babylonian equivalent was *Tisri*, a name used later by the Jews though not found in the Bible. For both Jews and Babylonians it marked the commencement of the civil year.
8. **BUL.** III. Kgs. vi. 38.	October-November.	Bul is a Canaanite name, the Babylonian equivalent being *Marchesvan*, as written in Hebrew characters, but really *Arach-samma.*
9. **CASLEU.** Zach. vii. 1 ; Neh. i. 1.	November-December. Winter begins, S. John x. 22. 25th, Casleu marks the Feast of the **re-Dedication of the Temple** by Judas Maccabeus after its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes, I. Macc. iv. 52	

10. **TEBHET.** Esther ii. 16.	December-January.	
11. **SEBET.** Zach. i. 7.	January-February.	
12. **ADAR.** Esdras vi. 15; I. Macc. vii. 43, and often in Esther.	February-March. 14th Adar marked the **Feast of Purim.**	

THE HIGH PRIESTS were always of the stock of Aaron, cf. Nbs. xvi-xvii. etc.; Josephus, *Ant.* XX. x. gives the total number from Aaron to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus as 83, and he divides them into seven periods.

(a) From the sojourn in the wilderness to the establishment of Solomon's Temple, 13 priests in 612 years; these were descended from the two sons of Aaron, viz., Eleazar and Ithamar.

(b) From Solomon's time to the destruction of the city in 586 B.C., 18 priests in 466 years, 6 months, 10 days.

(c) From the Restoration under Cyrus till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 15 priests in 414 years.

(d) The intrusion of Alcimus who was of the stock of Aaron, but not of that of Onias his predecessor; he was High Priest for 3 years, and then for 7 years the office was vacant.

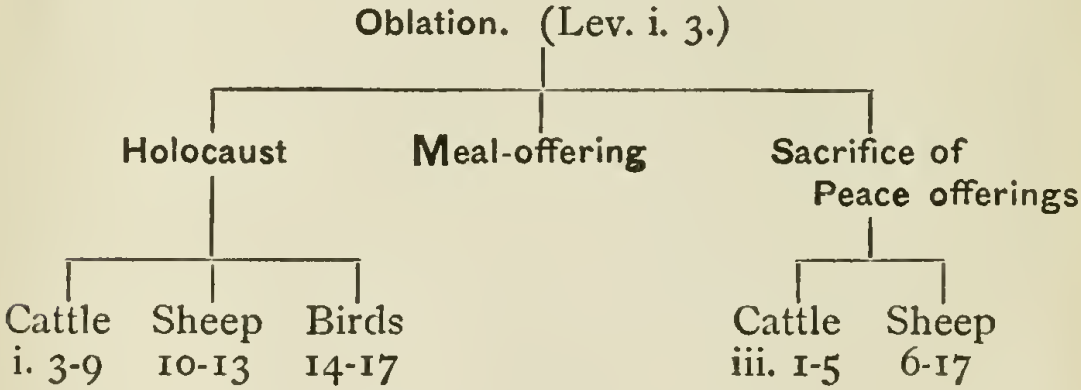
(e) The Asmonean High Priests, 8 in 112 years.

(f) The advent of Herod, followed by the Roman High Priests who imitated him in appointing to the office priests who were not of Aaron's stock; from the time of Herod till the capture of the city by Titus, 28 priests in 107 years.

At some early period the High-Priesthood appears to have passed from the line of Eleazar to that of Ithamar. Eli, I. Sam. i-iv., belonged to the latter line, and the failure of his line forms the theme of the first part of I. Sam. Throughout II. Sam., there appear to have been two High Priests at the same time, cf. viii. 17, xv. 24-36, III. Kgs. i. 7, 42, and ii. 26-27 where the

end of the line of Ithamar is pointed out; cf. also Ezech. xliii-iv. Besides Aaron and Phineas, the High Priests who played the most important part in history are Eli and Abiathar of the line of Ithamar, I. Sam. i-iv., viii. 17, xv., etc.; Sadoc of the line of Eleazar, *ut supra* and III. Kgs. i.; Joiada and Zacharias, IV. Kgs. vii., and II. Paral. xxiv.; Helcias, IV. Kgs. xxiii-iv.; Simon the Just, Ecclus. l.; Onias III., II. Macc. iii., iv., xv. The Maccabean, or Asmonean, Priest-Kings, are treated of in I. Maccabees.

THE SACRIFICES. These are all grouped under the heading of



Holocaust. The entire sacrifice was burnt upon the altar; the ritual is given in vi. 8-13.

Meal-Offering. This peculiar class of oblation is obscured in the Douay version, Lev. ii. 1, by the rendering 'an oblation of sacrifice' instead of 'an oblation of a meal-offering.' It consisted of flour and oil; if it were of the first-fruits then the actual grains were offered, ii. 14-16, a handful of it was burnt, the rest was the perquisite of the priest, ii. 10, vi. 16-18, vii. 9-10; a meal-offering by a priest was wholly burnt, vi. 19-23. The ritual is given in vi. 14-18.

The Sacrifice of Peace-Offerings. iii. 1-17. This consisted of the offering of an animal, whether of the herd or of the flock; a distinction was made in the ritual according as the sacrifice was offered in *Thanksgiving* or in fulfilment of a *vow*, cf. vii. 11-21; loaves are added in either case, but in the former the flesh must be eaten that same day, the breast and the shoulder are the perquisite of the priest, vii. 34.

Offerings for Sin. A clear distinction is made between sins of ignorance involving technical guilt though not deliberate guilt, iv-v., and sins due to deliberation, vi. 1-7. In iv. 3-12, we have regulations for sacrifices for unwitting sin on the part of a priest, in 13-21 on the part of the whole assembly of the people, in 22-26 on the part of a prince, in 27-35 on the part of one of the people. A sacrifice is always necessary; in the two former cases, it is enacted that the carcase be burnt outside the camp after the sacrificial fat has been burnt upon the altar, and apparently the same is to be the rule in the two latter cases. In all these cases the sacrifice is known as 'the sin-offering,' in Hebrew, *chataath.* In v. 1-13, we seem to have instances of particular sins of inadvertence; in addition to the 'sin-offering,' *chataath*, a 'guilt-offering,' *asham*, is required. The same enactment stands for sins regarding the ritual to be observed, v. 14-19. In vi. 1-7, deliberate sin is treated of, a 'guilt-offering' is then necessary, besides restoration where called for. Both the 'sin-offering' and the 'guilt-offering' are the perquisite of the priest, vi. 25-29, vi. 1-10.

The Morning and Evening Sacrifice. This consisted of a lamb with the addition of a 'meal-offering' to which also wine was added, Ex. xxix. 38-42, Nbs. xxviii. 1. From other passages we gather that trumpets were blown and psalms sung, II. Paral. xxix. 27, Ecclus. l. 16, 18; cf. Pss. xxiii., xlvii., lxxx., lxxxi., xci. (LXX.), and xcii. (LXX.); public prayers were also recited, II. Paral. xxix. 28, Ecclus. l. 17-19, cf. St. Luke i. 10, Acts iii. 1.

HEBREW MONEY AND COINS. The art of coining is attributed to the Lydians, and the circulation of real coins, i.e., pieces stamped with some official mark, only dates from about one hundred years previous to the Exile. At the same time it is evident from I. Sam. ix. 8, 'there is in my hand the fourth part of a sicle of silver,' as also from the temple tribute of a third of a sicle, Neh. x. 32, and of half a sicle, Ex. xxx. 13, etc., that pieces of silver of a definite value were in circulation, though they were not strictly 'coins' in our sense of the word. The word 'shekel,' in D.V. 'sicle,' comes from a root meaning 'to weigh,' and

transactions were conducted by weighing out a certain 'weight' of silver or gold; we have a good example of this in Gen. xxiii. 9-16. Hence the unit of weight was termed the 'shekel' and, as being the understood unit, was often omitted, cf. III. Kgs. x. 29, where, however, it is supplied in D.V. The two multiples of the shekel were the mina and the talent. Strictly speaking, 60 shekels made a mina, and 60 minas a talent, but for the precious metals a different system was in vogue by which 50 shekels made a mina, and 60 of these lesser minas made a talent.

These three units were in use in Babylonia for centuries before the Exodus, and the Babylonian system was adopted by the Phoenicians, the great commercial people. From them it spread to the Hebrews, if indeed it was not already in use among them. Two points must be attended to with regard to this Babylonian system: (a) They had a double system, one of light weights and another of double weights; thus while the ordinary Babylonian shekel weighed 126 grains with its proportionate minas and talents, there was also a system based upon a shekel of double that weight, i.e., 252 grains; herein lies the key to many difficulties connected with the metrology of the Bible. (b) In addition to the ordinary system there existed, as already indicated, a peculiar system for the precious metals; thus the standard for gold consisted of a shekel of 126 and 252 grains, of a mina of fifty shekels of either of the above weights, and of a talent weighing 60 of either of the above minas. The silver standard was different; the shekels, light and heavy, weighed 168 and 336 grains, 50 of them went to the two respective minas, and 60 of the latter to the two respective talents. Lastly there was the Royal standard according to which the shekels weighed respectively 130 and 260 grains.

The Phoenician traders had a silver shekel of 112 and 224 grains, and as this shekel was the one adopted in Palestine, it is of importance for us.

These weights may be summarised thus:—

Ordinary shekel	=	126 or 252 grains.
Silver shekel of Babylonia	=	168 or 336 ,,
Gold shekel of Babylonia	=	126 or 252 ,,
Royal shekel of Babylonia	=	130 or 260 ,,
Phoenician silver shekel	=	112 or 224 ,,

The Hebrews undoubtedly found the Babylono-Phoenician system in use; and that the weights were the same is clear from Josephus who says, *Ant.* XIV. vii. 1, that the mina weighed 2½ Roman pounds, i.e., 5053 grains, which gives us a shekel of 252 grains, exactly the heavy Babylonian gold shekel—Josephus is speaking of the gold mina. From this we are able to estimate the value in pure gold of the three units:

The gold shekel	=	£2	1	0.
The gold mina	=	£102	10	0.
The gold talent	=	£6150	0	0.

And as silver stood to gold in the proportion of 1: 13.3, one gold shekel of 252 grains will equal 15 silver shekels of 224 grains so that we have the following values:

The silver shekel	=	£0	2	9.
The silver mina	=	£6	16	8.
The silver talent	=	£410	0	0.

MONEYS MENTIONED IN THE BIBLE. Following the order of the Books we find the above-mentioned units mentioned again and again. Thus Abraham buys the field from Ephron for 400 shekels of silver, Gen. xxiii. 15, and we note that he pays in 'money current with the merchant,' R.V. The mina is not mentioned till we come to III. Kgs. x. 17, where we are told that each of the shields of gold which Solomon set up in the 'House of Libanus' were covered with 300lbs., i.e., minas, of gold,* or in terms of English values, £30,750 for each! Talents of gold and silver are mentioned all through the history, indeed the amount of specie in circulation must have been enormous, we need only mention a few of the huge sums expended: the golden candlestick, Exod. xxv. 39, weighed a talent of gold, i.e., at the present rate of purchase it would have cost £6150; the gold used in the Holy Place amounted to 29 talents, 730 shekels, Ex. xxviii. 24, i.e., more than £178,452; Solomon's yearly income in gold alone was 666 talents, i.e., £4,095,900; from I. Paral. xxii. 14, xxix. 4, 7, we learn that the fund for the Temple at the time of David's death was 106,000 talents of gold, i.e., £651,900,000 as well as 1,017,000

* The student should examine this passage in the original and in the versions, as also the parallel in *Chronicles.*

talents of silver, i.e., £416,971,000, or in all, £1,068,870,000!

In the later Books, i.e., Chronicles, Esdras-Nehemias, Ecclesiasticus, we find other moneys mentioned, thus in Neh. vii. 71-73 we have the *drachma*, in I. Paral. xxix. 7, Esdras ii. 69, viii. 27, and Ecclus xxix. 7, we have *solids*; in R.V. all the above are given as *darics*, as though they represented the Persian darics coined by Darius Hystaspis, but this is really an anachronism, since Esdras ii. 69, and Neh. vii. 71-73, refer to the time of Cyrus and therefore to a period anterior to the coining of darics by Darius. Further, in Esdras viii. 27, it is clearly question of the *weight* of the golden cups and it is practically certain that in the term 'darkemon,' here used in the original, we have only a Semitic transcription of the word 'drachma' in Greek, which stood for the 100th part of a mina, or for the ½ shekel, here it stands for a weight rather than a coin; the expression 'solids' or 'soldi' is due to the LXX. which rendered them *krusioi* and probably saw in them a reference to the gold shekel of Darius known as a 'stater' or 'daric,' on the light Babylonian system it would have weighed 130 grains.

In Gen. xxxiii. 18, Jos. xxiv. 32, and Job. xlii. 11, we find 'lambs' or 'ewes' mentioned as a means of exchange. The Hebrew word is a peculiar one, *keshitah*, it is rendered by the LXX. *amnas*, whence the Vulgate 'agnus'; some have thought that we have here an allusion to a piece of money stamped with a lamb as a symbol of its value, but this is only a guess.

Other Moneys. In IV. Kgs. vii. 1, Jer. xxxii. 9, Ezech. iv. 10, we have the *stater* mentioned, in the Hebrew and Greek 'shekel,' for which it is the equivalent. The word is due to the Greek *statera*, which exactly represents the Hebrew root 'shakal' 'to weigh.' The 'drachma' of Neh. vii. 70-72 has been explained above as being the equivalent of the hundredth part of a mina, i.e., a half shekel, but here again we have the old confusion between the light and heavy Babylonian standards. For, relatively to the heavy shekel of 260 grains, the stater of the time of Darius was only a half shekel, and might thus be described as a drachma; relatively to the light standard or light

Babylonian shekel it was its full equivalent and thus should rather be rendered 'shekel' or 'stater' than 'drachma'; and that this is what is meant in Neh. is clear from the fact that they are described as 'gold' pieces, whereas there was no gold half-shekel.

In brief, then, we have the following moneys mentioned in the Bible:

Shekel	Gold	£2	1	0.	Silver	£0	2	9.
Stater	„	£2	1	0.	„	£0	2	9.
'Solids'	„	£2	1	0.	„	£0	2	9.
Drachma	„	£2	1	0.	„	£0	2	9.
Mina	„	£102	10	0.	„	£6	16	8.
Talent	„	£6160	0	0.	„	£410	0	0.

THE WEIGHTS OF THE BIBLE. The same principles as those laid down for the moneys of the Bible apply to the weights; we must add, however, the 'Beka' or 'half-shekel,' and the 'Gerah,' or 'Obol' in Douay version. The 'obol' is only mentioned in the expression 'a sicle hath twenty obols,' Exod. xxx. 13, etc. The term 'Bekah,' or 'half-shekel,' does not occur in the Douay version where it is wrongly rendered 'two sicles' in Gen. xxiv. 22, and omitted altogether in Exod. xxxviii. 26, which should read 'a bekah a head, that is half a shekel.' The shekel weighed 253 grains, see *s.v. Moneys;* 50 shekels went to the maneh, 60 maneh to the talent. This calculation is confirmed by Exod. xxxviii. 24-28, where the contributions for the Tabernacle work out at 3000 shekels to the talent. Thus we have the following weights: the shekel = ½lb.; the maneh = 25lbs.; the talent = 1500lbs.

The accompanying table will prove useful:

Talent	1			
Maneh	60	1		
Shekel	3000	50	1	
Bekah	6000	100	2	1
Gerah	60000	1000	20	10

With regard to the talent it should be noted that there were several standards. Thus we have the 'Royal' talent weighing 158lbs.; the silver talent of 117lbs.; and the gold talent of 131lbs. These had their corresponding manehs and shekels, see under '*Moneys.*'

HEBREW MEASURES.—LINEAR MEASURES.

1. The *Finger* (Jer. lii. 21), four-fifths of an inch.

2. The *Palm* or *handbreadth;* this was the breadth of the four fingers, and is often so rendered in Douay version, Exod. xxv. 25, xxxvii. 12; 'handbreadth' in II. Paral. iv. 5, Ezech. xl. 5, 43, xliii. 13; 'measureable' in Ps. xxxviii. 6; 'three inches' in III. Kgs. vii. 26.

3. The *Span;* the distance between the thumb and little finger when spread out. The Hebrew *zereth* is rendered 'span' in Douay version of Exod. xxviii. 16, xxxix. 9, I. Sam. xvii. 4; but in Is. xl. 12, Ezech. xliii. 13, it is wrongly rendered by 'palm.'

4. The *Cubit* probably stood for the distance from the elbow to the tips of the fingers; presumably this is what is signified in Deut. iii. 11, by 'the cubit of a man.' In II. Paral. iii. 3, we read of 'cubits after the first measure,' R.V., and this seems to be explained by Ezech. xliii. 13, 'the cubit is a cubit and a handbreadth,' a passage which St. Jerome in the Vulgate, followed by the Douay version, has paraphrased: 'by the truest cubit, which is a cubit and a handbreadth.' This double system of cubits, paralleled by the double system of shekels etc., is found also in Egypt and Babylonia.

5. The *Reed;* Ezech. xl. 5, etc. According to the Jewish traditions this was equal to six cubits. The 'reed' is said in Ezech. xl. 6, to measure 6 cubits and a handbreadth. What the precise length of the cubit was is much disputed. If we could go by the witness of the Siloam inscription, where the tunnel which actually measures 1758 feet is described as being 1200 cubits long, we could estimate the cubit at 17.6 inches. But it is clear that the workmen of Ezechias' time only gave a rough calculation. In the Roman period the cubit seems to have measured 21 inches. Many estimate the Jewish cubit at 19 inches. If we accept this we can work out the following scale:

Finger	= 4/5 of an inch.
Palm or Handbreadth	= 3 & 1/5 of an inch = 4 fingers.
Span	= 9½ inches = 3 palms.
Cubit	= 19 inches = 2 spans.
Reed	= 126 inches = 6 cubits.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Liquids.

The *Bath*, or 'bate' in Douay version as a rule; in II. Paral. ii. 10, iv. 5, Is. v. 10, it is rendered 'measure'; in St. Luke, xvi. 6, 'barrel.' The Bath was the equivalent of about 6-7 gallons, and had the same capacity as the Ephah in the dry measures.

The *Hin;* always so rendered in Douay version, Exod. xxix. 40, etc., with the exception of Lev. xix. 36, where, following the Vulgate, it is given as 'sextary' the proper translation of the Log, cf. *infra*. The Hin was the sixth of the Bath, q.v., and contained about a gallon.

The *Log;* in the Douay version always a 'sextary,' Lev. xiv. 10-24. In St. Mark, vii. 4, we have the Greek *xestos* rendered 'pot.'

These measures of liquids may be represented thus:

Bath	1	
Hin	6	1
Log	72	12

Dry Measures.

The *Core;* so rendered in Douay version, II. Paral. ii. 10, Esdras vii. 22, Ezech. xlv. 14; 'measure' in III. Kgs. iv. 22, v. 11, II. Paral. xxvii. 5; 'quarter' in St. Luke, xvi. 7. The Core was the equivalent of about 8 bushels, or one quarter English. It had the same capacity as the Homer, *q.v.*, and was equal to 10 Ephahs.

The *Ephah*, in Douay version 'Ephi'; in Nbs. v. 15, Jud. vi. 19, it is rendered 'measure'; in Lev. xix. 36, Is. v. 10, 'bushel'; in I. Sam. i. 24, we should rather read ' and an ephi of flour,' i.e. one bushel, not 'three bushels'; similarly in Ruth ii. 17, St. Jerome has added to the words 'an ephi of barley' the explanatory note 'that is, three bushels.' In Zach. v. 6, 8, we have the rendering 'vessel.' The ephi was equivalent to about three pecks and had the capacity of ten Gomors, Exod. xvi. 36.

The *Gomor;* in R.V. 'Omer'; it is rendered 'Gomor' in Exod. xvi.; but in Deut. xxiv. 19, Lev. xxiii., it is rightly rendered 'sheaf' in both Douay version and R.V.; in Ruth ii. 7 and 15, it is translated 'ears of corn,' also in Job xxiv. 10. The Gomor was the equivalent of the tenth part of an Ephi, hence the

'tenth part' which occurs so often in Exod., Lev., and Nbs., cf. Exod. xvi. 36. Its capacity was about half a gallon.

The *Homer* was the equivalent of 10 Ephis, Ezech. xlv. 14; it corresponded to the 'Core,' and thus had a capacity of about 8 bushels or one English quarter. It is rendered 'bushel' in Lev. xxvii. 16, Is. v. 10; but 'core' in Nbs. xi. 32, Ezech. xlv. 11, 13, 14, Os. iii. 2.

We may represent these weights as follows:

Homer (Core)	1	
Ephah	10	1
Gomor	100	10

In addition we have

The *Cab*, or 'Cabe' in Douay version, IV. Kgs. vi. 25; it measured about a quart, and was the sixth part of

The *Seah;* this is rendered simply 'measure' in Gen. xviii. 6, I. Sam. xxv. 18; and 'bushel in IV. Kgs. vii. 1, 16, 18. It was the equivalent of an English peck, and was equal to the third part of an Ephi. In III. Kgs. xviii. 32, the Douay version, following the Vulgate, reads: 'the breadth of two furrows,' but R.V., 'as would contain two measures (seah) of seed,' and in margin 'a two-seah measure.' According to the Jewish tradition 6 cabs made one seah, and 3 seahs went to the ephi; thus these measures fit into the scheme of those given above. It is simpler, however, to keep them apart as follows:

Ephah	1	
Seah	3	1
Cab	18	6

Lastly, we have in Is. xl. 12, the *shalish*, rendered 'three fingers' in Douay version, 'measure' in R.V.; in Ps. lxxix. 5, it is rendered 'measure' in both versions. In Os. iii. 2, occurs the *lethek*, rendered 'half a core' in Douay, 'half a homer' in R.V.

CHAPTER VI

THE BIBLICAL COMMISSION AND ITS DECREES

I.

THE AUTHORITY ATTACHING TO THE DECREES OF THE BIBLICAL COMMISSION.

In order to remove all doubts as to the precise authority attaching to these Decrees, the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius X., published on Nov. 18th, 1907, a Motu Proprio, "*Praestantia Scripturae Sacrae*," in which he declares that "all are bound in conscience to submit themselves to the Decrees of the Pontifical Council on Biblical matters just in the same way as all are bound to submit themselves to Decrees of the Sacred Congregations when referring to doctrine and when approved by the Pontiff; this declaration applies as well to the Decrees already published as to those which may be published in the future."

II.

TACIT QUOTATIONS.

The following question has been proposed to the Biblical Commission, as being the established guide for Biblical students:

"Is it allowable for a Catholic commentator to solve difficulties occurring in certain Biblical texts which apparently make historical statements, by asserting that we have in such texts tacit or implied quotations of documents written by a non-inspired author, and that

the inspired author in no sense intends to approve of these statements or make them his own, and that these statements cannot, in consequence, be regarded as free from error ? "

To this the Commission has thought well to reply:

"In the negative; except in the case when, saving the mind and decision of the Church, it can be shewn by solid arguments, 1st, that the Sacred Writer really does cite another's sayings or writings; and, 2nd, that he does not intend, in so doing, to approve them or make them his own."

On February 13th, 1905, the Holy Father, at the petition of the Consultor, approved the above reply and ordered its publication.

III.

CONCERNING NARRATIVES IN THE HISTORICAL BOOKS WHICH HAVE ONLY THE APPEARANCE OF BEING HISTORICAL.

To the following question the Pontifical Commission for Biblical Studies deems fit to reply as below:

Question.

Can we admit as a principle of sound exegesis the opinion which holds that those Books of Sacred Scripture which are regarded as historical, either wholly or in part, do sometimes present us with what is not really history properly so-called and objectively true, but only something having the appearance of history and intended to convey a meaning different from the strictly literal or historical sense of the words ?

Reply.

In the negative; excepting always the case—a case not to be easily or rashly conceded, and then only on the supposition that it is not opposed to the Church's teaching, subject moreover to Her decision—, that it can be proved by solid arguments that the Sacred Writer did not intend to give a true and strict history, but proposed rather to set forth, under the guise and form of history, a parable or an allegory or some meaning distinct from the literal or historical signification of the words.

In an Audience accorded to the Secretaries on June 23rd, 1905, the Holy Father confirmed the above Reply and ordered its publication.

IV.

OF THE MOSAIC AUTHENTICITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

(Reply of the Biblical Commission, June 27th, 1906).

i.

Are the critical arguments against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch of such weight that we are justified in disregarding (a) the collective force of the many indications of the Mosaic authorship afforded by both Old and New Testaments, (b) the persistent agreement of the Jewish people on the point, (c) the constant tradition of the Christian Church, (d) the internal arguments in favour of the Mosaic authorship which are deducible from the text (of the Pentateuch itself); and are we consequently justified in holding that Moses was not the author of these books but that they were compiled from sources which were in many cases of later date than Moses?

Reply:—In the negative.

ii. (a)

Does the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch mean that we are bound to hold that Moses wrote it all with his own hand, or at least dictated it to amanuenses?

Reply:—In the negative.

ii. (b)

Can we, on the other hand, allow the hypothesis that Moses himself entrusted to one or more scribes the task of committing to writing what he alone had received under Divine inspiration; prevising, of course, that these amanuenses faithfully rendered his meaning, wrote nothing which he did not intend, and omitted nothing; prevising, too, that when the work had been completed, it was approved by Moses who was the principal and the inspired author, and that it was finally published under his name?

Reply:—In the affirmative.

(N.B.—We have divided this second 'Dubium' into

two parts for convenience' sake; in the original, both are proposed together).

iii.

Can we without prejudice to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch concede that Moses used documents in composing his work, that is to say written documents or oral traditions from which, in accordance with the particular object proposed to him and under the influence of Divine inspiration, he derived information, but the wording or meaning of which he either modified as he thought fit, and so inserted in his work?

Reply:—In the affirmative.

iv.

Can it be admitted without in any way prejudicing the Mosaic authorship that in the course of time certain modifications may have found their way into the Pentateuch, as for example, additions made—subsequent to the death of Moses—by an inspired writer; glosses or explanations of the text; modifications of archaic words and forms? Can we admit also textual corruptions due to careless copying, and only to be detected by the application of the principles of textual criticism?
Reply:—Affirmatively, subject to the Church's decision.

V.

OF THE CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAS, AND OF ITS AUTHOR.

The following replies to questions proposed have been furnished by the Pontifical Biblical Commission:

i.

Can we teach that the Prophecies which occur in the *Book of Isaias*—and generally in the Bible—are not really predictions; but that they are either narratives composed subsequent to the event, or—on the supposition that we have to see in some of them predictions previous to the event—only predictions in the sense that the Prophet foretold them by way of mere conjectures based upon things which had already happened and which he, by reason of a certain sagacity and his own natural acuteness, was enabled to forecast, and that

they consequently were not due to a supernatural revelation from God Who foreknows the future ?

Reply:—In the negative.

ii.

Can the view which holds that Isaias and other Prophets only published predictions of things which were to happen immediately, or after a short interval, be reconciled with the predictions—especially the Messianic and eschatological ones—which they certainly set forth as referring to the remote future? Can it be reconciled, too, with the common view of the Fathers who unanimously assert that the Prophets also foretold things which were only to be fulfilled after the lapse of many ages ?

Reply:—In the negative.

iii.

Can we hold that the Prophets, not merely as reprovers of human depravity and preachers of the divine word for the gain of their hearers, but also as predictors of future events, must always have addressed themselves to a present and contemporary—and not to a future audience—if they would be fully intelligible to them ? And, in this same connection, can we hold that the second part of the Book of Isaias, chs. xl-lxvi., in which the Seer addresses and comforts, not the Jews contemporary with Isaias but those mourning in exile in Babylon, and that, too, as though he were living in their midst, cannot be attributed to Isaias then long dead, but rather to some unknown Seer living among the exiles ?

Reply:—In the negative.

iv.

Is the philological argument—one derived from the language and the style, and employed to throw doubt upon the identity of the author of the Book of Isaias—of such force as to compel a serious student, viz., one who is versed in critical principles and well acquainted with Hebrew, to acknowledge the presence of a plurality of authors in the Book ?

Reply:—In the negative.

v.

Are there really solid arguments—even when taken cumulatively—for the view that the Book of Isaias is not to be attributed solely to Isaias himself, but to two or even more authors?

Reply:—In the negative.

On the 28th of June, 1908, in an audience graciously given to the two Consultors, the Holy Father ratified the above replies, and ordered their publication.

VI.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS.

i.

Are the various exegetical systems which have been elaborated and defended by the aid of a science falsely so-called, for the purpose of excluding the literal historic sense from the first Three Chapters of Genesis, based upon solid arguments?

Reply:—In the negative.

ii.

Can we, in spite of the character and the historic mould of the Book of Genesis, in spite, too, of the close connection between the first Three Chapters and those which follow, in face, too, of the manifold testimony of the Books both of the Old and of the New Testaments, of the practically unanimous opinion of the Fathers, and in face of the traditional view which—derived from the Jewish people—has always been held by the Church: teach that the three aforesaid chapters do not contain the story of things which actually happened, a story namely which corresponds to objective reality and historic truth? Can we hold that, on the contrary, these chapters contain fables derived from mythologies and cosmologies belonging to older nations but purified of all polytheistic error and accommodated to monotheistic teaching? or again: that they contain allegories and symbols destitute of any foundation in objective reality but presented under the garb of history for the inculcation of religious and philosophical

truths? or again: that they contain legends, partly historical and partly fictitious, freely handled for the instruction and edification of souls?

Reply:—In the negative to each part.

iii.

Can we, in particular, call in question the literal and historical meaning when in these chapters it is question of the narration of facts which touch the foundations of christian religion; as, for example, the Creation of all things by God in the beginning of time; the particular creation of man; the formation of the first woman from the first man; the unity of the human race; the original happiness of our first parents in a state of justice, integrity and immortality; the divine command laid upon man for the proving of his obedience; the transgression of that divine command at the instigation of the devil under the form of a serpent; the fall of our first parents from their primitive state of innocence; and the promise of a future Redeemer?

Reply:—In the negative.

iv.

Can we, in interpreting those passages of these chapters which the Fathers and Doctors have interpreted in divers ways without leaving us anything definite or certain, work out for ourselves, and adhere to, any opinion at which we have prudently arrived—saving of course the decision of the Church and following the analogy of the faith?

Reply:—In the affirmative.

v.

Are we bound to interpret in their strictly literal sense every single thing, words namely and phrases, in these chapters, so as never to depart from it even when expressions are patently not used in the strict sense but metaphorically or anthropomorphically, and when, too, reason or necessity compel us to give up the literal sense?

Reply:—In the negative.

vi.

Supposing always the literal and historical sense, can the allegorical and prophetic interpretation of cer-

tain passages in these chapters—an interpretation guaranteed by the example of the Fathers and of the Church—be prudently and usefully applied ?

Reply:—In the affirmative.

vii.

Since it was not the intention of the sacred author when writing the first chapter of Genesis, to teach us the innermost nature of visible things, nor to present the complete order of creation in a scientific manner, but rather to furnish his people with a popular account such as the common parlance of that age allowed, one, namely, adapted to the senses and to man's intelligence, are we always bound, when interpreting these chapters, to seek for scientific exactitude of expression ?

Reply:—In the negative.

viii.

Can the word *Yom* (day), which is used in the first chapter of Genesis for describing and distinguishing the six days, be taken either in its strict sense as the natural day or in the less strict sense as signifying a certain space of time? is free discussion of this allowable to interpreters ?

Reply:—In the affirmative.

On June 30th, 1909, in an audience graciously conceded to the two Consultors, the Holy Father ratified the above Replies, and ordered their publication.

VII.

OF THE AUTHORS AND THE DATES OF COMPOSITION OF THE PSALMS.

i.

Are the terms *Psalms of David, Hymns of David, the Book of the Psalms of David, the Davidic Psalter,* which in the old collections and even in the Councils are used to designate the Old Testament Book of CL Psalms, as also the opinion of many Fathers and Doctors who held that absolutely all the Psalms of the Psalter were to be attributed to David alone—of such force that we have to consider David as the sole author of the entire Psalter ?

Reply:—In the negative.

ii.

Can we, from the agreement of the Hebrew text with the Alexandrian Greek text and with other old versions, rightly conclude that the Titles prefixed to the Psalms in the Hebrew text are of older date than the aforesaid LXX. version, and that consequently they are due—if not directly to the authors of the Psalms—at least to very ancient Jewish traditions?

Reply:—In the affirmative.

iii.

Can the aforesaid Titles, witnesses to the Jewish tradition, be reasonably called in question except when there is solid reason for doubting their genuine character?

Reply:—In the negative.

iv.

Considering the not infrequent testimonies in the Bible to David's natural skill—a skill further illumined by the special gift of the Holy Spirit for the composition of religious odes; considering, too, the arrangements drawn up by him for the liturgical chanting of the Psalms; the attribution also—both in the Old Testament and the New—of Psalms to him, as also in the actual inscriptions affixed of old time to the Psalms; considering moreover the common opinion of the Jews, and of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church; can it be prudently denied that David was the principal author of the odes contained in the Psalter? Can it, on the other hand, be maintained that only a few of these odes are to be attributed to the Royal Psalmist?

Reply:—In the negative to both questions.

v.

In particular: can we deny the Davidic origin of those Psalms which, in both the Old and the New Testaments, are expressly cited as David's, especially such as Ps. II., *Why have the Gentiles raged;* Ps. XV., *Preserve me, O Lord;* Ps. XVII., *I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength;* Ps. XXXI., *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven;* Ps. LXVIII., *Save me, O God;* Ps. CIX., *The Lord said to my Lord*?

Reply:—In the negative

vi.

Can we admit the view held by some, namely, that certain Psalms—whether by David or by other authors—have, for liturgical or musical reasons, or through the carelessness of copyists, or for other unexplained reasons, been divided—or even welded together? Further, can we hold that some Psalms, e.g., the *Miserere*, have for the sake of better adaptibility to historical circumstances or Jewish Festivals, been slightly re-moulded or modified, either by the removal or addition of one or two verses, without the inspiration of the whole Sacred text being thereby affected?

Reply:—Affirmatively to both questions.

vii.

Can we maintain with any real probability the opinion of those who, judging by internal grounds alone or basing their views upon an unsound interpretation of the Sacred text, strive to demonstrate that not a few Psalms were composed after the date of Esdras and Nehemias, nay even in the Maccabean age?

Reply:—In the negative.

viii.

Can we, judging by the repeated testimonies of the Books of the New Testament, the unanimous consent of the Fathers, in agreement, too, with Jewish writers, hold that many Psalms are to be recognised as Prophetic and Messianic, i.e., as foretelling the coming of a future Redeemer, His Kingdom, His Priesthood, His Passion, Death, and Resurrection? And must we, in consequence, reject the opinion of those who, perverting the Prophetic and Messianic character of the Psalms, limit these oracles concerning Christ to mere predictions of the future lot of the elect people?

Reply:—Affirmatively to both questions.

On May 1st, 1910, in an audience graciously conceded to the two Consultors, the Holy Father ratified the above replies and ordered their publication.

CHAPTER VII

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

GENESIS.

In Hebrew, *Bereshith*, in Greek *Genesis*, whence the title nowadays of 'Genesis' or the 'birth.' This title is singularly appropriate, for the truest account of the Book is comprised in the expression 'History of Origins.' Yet even here we must be careful to avoid a common pitfall; the book is not professedly the history of the origin of the world nor even of the human race, it is essentially the history of the origin of the Chosen People; neglect to realise this point has led to many misapprehensions and even heresies. The creation of the world is described, but only as man's future habitation; the creation of the animals is described, but as destined for man's use; cf. *infra., s.v., Hexaemeron.*

The history of a Chosen Race necessarily demands the elimination of those portions of the race which are not so chosen, and in this fact we have the key to Genesis; the author proceeds by a series of eliminations of all those who did not fall within the scheme of God's providential care of this world. These eliminations are indicated by the expression which occurs no less than ten times 'these are the generations of. . ,' in Hebrew *Toledoth.* Following the hint thus given we may divide the book into ten chapters of unequal length as follows:

(a) ii. 4, 'These are the generations of the heaven and the earth.'

(b) v. 1, 'This is the book of the generation of Adam.'

(c) vi. 9, 'These are the generations of Noe.'
(d) x. 1, 'These are the generations of the sons of Noe.'
(e) xi. 10, 'These are the generations of Sem.'
(f) xi. 27, 'These are the generations of Thare.'
(g) xxv. 12, 'These are the generations of Ismael.'
(h) xxv. 19, 'These are the generations of Isaac.'
(i) xxxvi. 1, 'These are the generations of Esau.'
(j) xxxvii. 2, 'These are the generations of Jacob.'

Thus in this series of Genealogies we pass, from the Adamites to the Sethites, thence to the Noachites, thence to the Semites, thence to the Thareites, thence to Isaac as opposed to Ismael, thence to Jacob as opposed to Esau. It should be noticed, too, as throwing instructive light on the author's mode of composition, that these genealogies are interwoven with the narrative in such a way that the various portions of genealogy serve to weld together the otherwise scattered accounts of the patriarchs. It is this feature which gives unity to the whole, if we fail to grasp it we lose the key to the book. The author must have had in his hands the whole genealogical tree as well as the narrative portions, and he has most skilfully pieced them into a harmonious whole.

Before proceeding to a more minute analysis of the book, it will not be amiss to point out its *geographical divisions*. Chs. i-iii. deal with man in Eden; iv-xi. with the Euphrates valley; xii-xxxviii. with Canaan; xxxix-l. with Egypt.

Fuller Analysis.

I-XI. The history of the Creation, of our first Parents, and of the Patriarchs.

i-ii. The **CREATION.**

iii. The **FALL**, the subsequent promise of a Redeemer, often termed the '*Protevangelion*' or 'First Gospel.' The necessity of preserving this promise led to the gradual elimination of a Chosen Race; they were chosen then, not because of any merits of their own, but simply for the furtherance of the Divine plans for the ultimate redemption of the world from the consequences of Adam's fall.

iv. The story of Cain and Abel; Lamech, of the

race of Cain, is rejected, and **SETH** is born to replace Abel.

v-ix. The history of the Sethites; the entire race is blotted out by the **DELUGE**, with the exception of Noe of the race of Seth; he and his sons, Sem, Cham, and Japheth, are preserved in the ark. Chanaan son of Ham is cursed and Japheth is set aside, yet with a blessing.

x. The genealogy of the descendants of these three sons by whom the earth is re-peopled after the Deluge; this chapter is of great importance ethnographically, it has often been the object of rationalistic sneers, but every archæological discovery serves to show the accuracy of the writer. For instance, it used to be maintained that the Elamites (x. 22) could not be Semites, but the recent discoveries in Elam have shown that they were so.

xi. The story of the **TOWER OF BABEL** and the consequent dispersal of the human race. This is followed by the genealogy of the *Semites* out of whom the *Thareites* are chosen as the depositories of the divine promises; in this family, *Abram* is born. Thus from a Chosen Race we have passed to a Chosen Family, and the history may now be conveniently termed that of

XII-XXV. **ABRAHAM THE CHOSEN.** God had made Covenants with Noe, vi. 18, viii. 21, ix. 1-17, but He now enters into a peculiarly personal and intimate relationship with Abram:

xii. He calls him from Haran in Mesopotamia; He appears to him at Moreh; He makes to him the first promise, 'to thy seed will I give this land.'

xiii. Abram and Lot agree to separate; the promise is renewed to Abram, 'I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth.'

xiv. The expedition of the four kings from the east. A chapter of the highest historical importance; its details have received the most extraordinary confirmation from recent discoveries in Babylonia and Assyria, *q.v.*; Abram's interview with Melchisedech—the most mysterious figure in the whole of the Old Testament.

xv. God reveals to Abram in a vision the future

greatness of his descendants as well as their future sufferings in Egypt; they shall be in bondage four hundred years, but shall come out from that land after the fourth generation. The promise is renewed, 'number the stars if thou canst. . . so shall thy seed be; Abram believed God and it was reputed to him unto justice.'

xvi. The episode of Agar, **ISMAEL** is born.

xvii. The promise is once more renewed to Abram, 'I am, and My covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be the father of many nations'; his name, Abram, is changed into that of Abraham; the promise is sealed by the sign of circumcision; Sara is promised a son, 'kings of peoples shall spring from him.' Abraham believes, but, seeing that Ismael is therefore rejected, he prays for him.

xviii-xix. The destruction of Sodom; the promise of a son to Sara is renewed, and, just as Abram, xvii. 17 had *laughed* at the idea, so did Sara *laugh* now; hence the name of *'Isaac'* or **'LAUGHTER.'** As Abram, too, had prayed for Ismael, so now he pleads for Sodom, but unavailingly, though Lot is saved. The account closes with the story of the origin of the Moabites and of the children of Ammon.

xx. Abraham goes to Gerara in the south, and just as Pharaoh, xii. 11-20, had taken Sara into his house, so now did Abimelech.

xxi. **ISAAC** is born; Agar and Ismael at the instance of Sara are cast out; a league is made between Abraham and Abimelech.

xxii. Abraham is commanded to sacrifice Isaac on Mt. Moriah; an angel forbids him to carry out his intention, for God is but trying his faith; the promise is once more renewed, 'in thy seed shall the nations of the earth be blessed.' An appended genealogy puts us in possession of the relation between Abraham and those of the Thareites who had remained at Haran, and we are thus prepared for Isaac's subsequent marriage with Rebecca.

xxiii. Sara dies, Abraham buys the double cave of Macpelah from the children of Heth.

xxiv. He sends to Haran for a wife for Isaac; Abraham's steward, Eliezer, returns with Rebecca.

XXV-XXVI. **HISTORY OF ISAAC THE CHOSEN.** An account is prefixed of Abraham's other children by Cetura; from them sprang the Midianites, etc. Abraham dies, and is buried with Sara. The 'Generations' of Ismael and Isaac follow, and we are then given the account of the sale of his birth-right by Esau who thus forfeited the privilege of reckoning the Messias among his children. Isaac goes to Gerara as Abraham had done, and Abimelech takes Rebecca into his house just as he had taken Sara. The promise is once more renewed to Isaac as to his father before him, 'In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.'

XXVII-L. **HISTORY OF JACOB THE CHOSEN.**

xxvii. He obtains his father's blessing in place of Esau.

xxviii. He has to fly to Haran to escape the latter's wrath; on his way there is vouchsafed him the vision of the ladder stretching up to heaven. The promise is renewed to him as to Isaac and Abraham, 'In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.'

xxix-xxxii. Jacob serves seven years for Rachel, Leah is palmed off upon him; he serves other seven years for Rachel; sons are born to him (see the genealogical tables below); his substance increases at the expense of Laban, he flees to the west, a compact is made between him and Laban; he has a vision of angels at Mahanaim, he struggles with an angel at night, and his name is changed to **ISRAEL**.

xxxiii-xxxvi. He meets Esau; he establishes himself at Shechem where Simeon and Levi draw upon themselves their father's curse for their violent revenge upon the Sichemites for the wrong done to their sister. Isaac dies, and the 'Generations' of Esau are given. The whole interest now centres in **JOSEPH**, not because he was the chosen one of Jacob's sons, but because in the divine plan he was the means of securing for the Israelites a place of refuge in Egypt.

xxxvii-xxxviii. Joseph is sold into Egypt. But as though to point out that the chosen line will pass through **JUDAH** and not through Joseph, we are told, apropos of a disgraceful sin on Judah's part, that he

had two sons Phares and Zara, in the direct line of the latter came the Messias, cf. St. Matth. i.

xxxix-xli. Joseph acquires a high position in Egypt.

xlii-xlv. His brethren, driven by the famine which Joseph had foretold, come down into Egypt. Joseph ultimately reveals himself to them and sends for his father.

xlvi-l. **ISRAEL GOES DOWN INTO EGYPT.** At this critical point in the history of the chosen line the writer gives us in full the catalogue of the tribe. They are settled in Gessen; Jacob blesses the children of Joseph; by divine instinct he puts Ephraim, the younger, before Manasses, thus in a mysterious way repeating what he himself had done to his brother, Esau. In the extent of the blessing thus given to the children of Joseph we see the reward vouchsafed to him for his faithful services, but his was not the chosen line, and his sons were afterwards the chief opponents of the Davidic race. Jacob, before dying, prophesies the future of his children, and, in mysterious fashion, dwells upon the 'things that shall befall them in the last days.' To Judah he makes the most glorious promises: '*the sceptre shall not be taken from Judah, nor a ruler from his thigh, till He come that is to be sent, and He shall be the Expectation of nations.*' The book concludes with the death of Joseph who conjures his sons not to leave his body in Egypt, when, in the Providence of God, they shall go up into the land of their inheritance, cf. Exod. xiii. 19; Jos. xxiv. 32.

This brief analysis of the book will enable us to see how supernatural it is in tone. It is well to realise this, for we are at times apt to forget it in the interest of the story; while at times, too, the human aspect of it all is so strikingly displayed that we are in danger of losing sight of the part which Almighty God so clearly plays throughout. Thus Genesis has not inaptly been termed the Book of Visions, Covenants, and Promises; this is as it should be, for the book is fundamental in more ways than one. It tells us the history of the origins of this world and its inhabitants, but, as hinted above, not so much for their own sake as for the sake of bringing into clear light God's plan of Redemption of the human race. Thus whilst the human interest is always there, and sometimes indeed only too painfully

manifested, God also is always there—in the background it is true—but it is only in the light of His presence that we can arrive at a true understanding of the story. A student will do well to make for himself lists of the various visions, covenants, and promises in order to secure a grasp of this fundamental character of the whole book.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF CHS. I-XI. There will, presumably, always be discussion on this point; of late years it has intensified owing to the discoveries in Babylonia and Assyria of accounts of the Creation and the Flood, etc., which run on lines extraordinarily similar to those of the Biblical narratives. The principal events given in these chapters are the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, the Ethnographical details in ch. x., and the history of the Patriarchs in ch. xi. Are we to take these recitals as sober history in the same way as we take the accounts of the reigns of David or Ezechias? Are we to regard them, as do so many modern critics, as myths or legends? Or, lastly, is it possible to find some *via media* between these two extremes ?

In the first place, it will be evident that there can be no such thing as a history, properly so-called, of the creation, for there was no historian there to see it and tell us about it. But this fact will not allow us to regard the stories detailed in these early chapters as mere myths having no foundation. Hence we must cast about for some 'via media' which, while doing full justice to the character of the recital, shall avoid any view which runs counter to sound teaching regarding inspiration or the historical character of the recital.

It must be noted at the outset that there seems to be no appreciable change of style or treatment when we pass from Ch. xi. to the following chapters. Further, as pointed out above, the book seems to have been most carefully welded into a homogeneous whole, the author piecing together his story by means of the genealogical tables scattered throughout the volume. Again, there are no detached portions in the book; we cannot, for instance, understand any one chapter without first reading the whole of what has gone before; thus the Fall alone will explain the doctrine of a

Chosen Race, which, as we have seen, runs through the whole story; similarly the Flood alone will enable us to understand the position of the Semites. Lastly, ch. xi., which closes the history of the patriarchs, is evidently constructed with a view to what follows, it ends with the origin of the Thareites from whom sprang Abraham.

These facts will not, of course, explain the character of the early chapters, for this harmonious arrangement is due solely to a writer who lived many centuries after the events which he narrates. We want to get behind him, so to speak, and see for ourselves what value is to be attributed to the stories which he has preserved for us. His treatment of them is one thing, their own precise character and origin is another.

We will, for clearness' sake, take only one portion of the early story and examine it in the light of the evidence we possess:

The **HEXAEMERON.** According to the Biblical narrative the work of Creation extended over six days, and on the seventh the Creator rested. On the first day, the Light was made; on the second, the firmament; on the third, the waters were divided from the land, and the trees and herbs came into being; on the fourth, the sun, moon, and stars were created, and were set to rule the seasons; on the fifth, the fishes and fowls were created, and were bidden to increase and multiply; on the sixth, the animals and creeping things came into being, and man was created to have dominion over them; on the seventh, God rested from His work. The story of Creation has thus been given in general, and its order stated; man coming last; in the succeeding chapter, the order is reversed, and the creation of man is especially dwelt upon; its mode is given at length, and man's relation to the rest of creation is detailed; finally a help-mate is created for Adam.

An examination of this account shows us (a) that creation was conceived of as consisting in a definite series of operations; (b) that it is given in a more or less poetical form; thus we note the recurring formula 'and there was evening and morning, one day,' etc.; (c) though it is the creation of the universe which is treated of, it is yet clear that all is told from the stand-

point of the earth; in other words, we are not told the story for its own intrinsic interest, nor from a purely scientific point of view—we have not a cosmogony so much as a geogony. (d) The account is essentially anthropomorphic, i.e., God is depicted as a man, He acts, plans, and speaks like a man. (e) The whole account is essentially popular, i.e., it is expressed in popular language and according to appearances: e.g., the description of the firmament. If we ask what precise doctrinal teaching is to be gathered from the account, it will seem that nothing is explicitly *taught* us in the first chapter beyond the fact that *God created all*, and that *He rested on the Sabbath day.*

It will help us to arrive at a fuller understanding of the question if we now turn to the accounts of the Creation which have recently come to us from the East, viz., from Chaldea. These are three in number, and they vary considerably from one another. The most important of them was discovered by George Smith at Kouyunjik or Niniveh, and further fragments have since been brought to light, so that we now have portions of all the seven (?) tablets upon which it was originally engraved, except the second and the sixth. The portion of the seventh tablet where the creation of man should come is unfortunately mutilated. Though founded on older poems this epic is probably not earlier than the time of Assur-bani-pal, 668-626 B.C. The contents of the tablets may, for purposes of comparison, be stated as follows:

Tablet I. "At that time" (so it opens), there was no heaven or earth, only a watery chaos—*Tiamat*—existed. From this proceeded the primaeval deities, Lakmu and Lakhamu; then An-sar and Ki-sar, the upper and lower firmament. Later came Anu the sky-god, Bel the god of the spirit-world, and Ea the god of the rivers and the sea.

Tablet II. is wanting, but seems to have contained an account of the conflict between Merodach—son of Ea, and sun-god of Babylonia—and Tiamat.

Tablet III. continues the account, Tiamat is slain and in

Tablet IV. her body is broken up so that of her skin is made the upper firmament, the habitation of Anu, Bel, and Ea; while the sea is ruled over by Ea.

Tablet V. The heavenly bodies are established as rulers of the seasons.

Tablet VI. is missing; it probably described the creation of the earth, the birds, and the vegetables.

Tablet VII. tells of the creation of the animals and reptiles, and probably the missing portion of this tablet gave an account of the *creation of man.*

The second account which has come down to us is much older. It is contained in a bilingual inscription, viz., in Accadian and Semitic-Babylonian, which was discovered by Rassam at Sippara, 1881-2. This inscription is thus primarily non-Semitic and belongs to a very early age. It is short, not more than forty-one lines on the obverse, and fifteen on the reverse. It is much more concerned with the divine origin of the great cities, Nippur, Erech, Eridu, and Babylon, than with the creation of mankind. The foundation of the great temples, too, is particularly dwelt upon. Very few deities are mentioned, there is no 'Tree of Life.' At the same time we are told of Merodach that 'he made mankind' (l. 20 of the obverse); he also created the animals. The account further differs from that of the Bible in that there is no mention of the 'Chaos,' nor of the days and nights, the heavenly bodies, the fishes, birds, monsters of the deep; nor of the days of creation.

The third fragmentary account again is very different from the two preceding. George Smith was the discoverer of this also; he brought it from the library of Assur-bani-pal at Niniveh, but a colophon at its close informs us that it was copied from the library at Cutha. It is written in Semitic only, and cannot therefore belong to the pre-Semitic period, like the second account; it is thought that it may perhaps date from the time of Hammurabi, the Amraphel of Gen. xiv., *circa* 2300—2200 B.C. It is interesting to note that the deity who prevails over the giant brood of Tiamat in this presentation of the story is not Merodach but Nergal who was, we know, the patron-deity of Cutha. This fact shows how the various narratives took on a different dress according to the centre in which they circulated. There is no creation in successive acts; Tiamat appears to rule over an underground city, so that the earth is represented as already exist-

ing; the state of 'Chaos', however, may be represented by the expression in l. 8 'On a tablet he wrote not.' The creation of the brood of Tiamat is referred to the 'great gods,' thus ll. 10-15:

"Warriors with the body of a bird of the valley, men,
"with the faces of ravens,
"Did the great gods create.
"In the ground the gods created his city,
"Tiamat gave them suck."

It may be useful for purpose of comparison to place in parallel columns the various data furnished by these accounts and that given in the Bible.

Genesis	Assyrian Epic.	Cuthaean Account.	Pre-Semitic Account.
1. Seven periods.	ditto	wanting	wanting
2. 'Chaos' or, in Hebrew 'Tehom.'	'Tiamat'	'Tiamat'	ditto
3. The order of the Creation			
(a) the light.	ditto	wanting	ditto
(b) the firmament.	ditto	ditto	ditto
(c) the earth.	the heavenly bodies	ditto	ditto
(d) the heavenly bodies.	earth	ditto	ditto
(e) the animals.	ditto	ditto	ditto
(f) the reptiles.	ditto	ditto	ditto
(g) man.	probably	ditto	'he made mankind'

We are now in a position to appreciate at its true worth the account given in Genesis. It is evident that it no longer stands alone, it is not an isolated story, but a portion of what we may term the world's heritage. The three accounts, Semitic and pre-Semitic, which we have examined above, most certainly contain reminiscences of the origin of mankind and of this world which run on parallel lines with the Biblical narrative.

None of them are 'history' in the technical sense of the term for the simple reason that they deal with the origins of history and not with history itself. Are we to dub them all indiscriminately 'myths'? Names are awkward things, and there is about the name 'myth' an air of romanticism which forbids us to use it in this connection. Can we call these stories 'legends'? Here again we feel a dislike to the term because of its associations. All, it will be evident, is a question of terms. As a writer who is fully competent to speak on such subjects, C. H. W. Johns, says in the volume of *Cambridge Biblical Essays* for 1910, "The term myth is not very definite. Mythology in the Bible is a very shocking idea to some accustomed to regard myths as essentially stories about the pagan gods. . . . It might be well to devise a more exact term to connote what we have to deal with here. For many so-called myths are primitive attempts to put an hypothesis into words before language has become sufficiently developed for scientific terms to be available. Recourse is invariably had to metaphor. It is impertinent in the highest degree to attempt to take these metaphors literally."

Primitive nations must necessarily have attempted to give some explanation, however unsatisfactory, of their own existence. It is hardly to be supposed that different nations would have lit upon the same metaphorical way of expressing their ideas on this subject and it seems perfectly legitimate to argue that the universal witness of the world, especially as concretised in the records which we have been examining, bears witness to a primitive revelation on the subject of the origins of mankind and the world in general. At the same time this revelation, while coming from God to man, must necessarily have been expressed in language suitable to man's comprehension, and he, in handing down to his sons the revelation received in the beginning, must needs have expressed things which, save in the case of Adam himself,* were beyond his power to understand, and indeed altogether beyond his experience, in terms, too, which were often little better than metaphors, and which as such were only

* *See* St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, *Ia Pars*, *xciv. 3; ci. 1; II. da. II. dæ, v. 1.*

to a small extent capable of giving expression to man's ideas on the subject; it is in this sense that we can speak of the stories in Genesis as myths or legends, and in no other. In doing so we do not cease to remember their divine origin; we look rather at the halting way in which, from the necessities of the case, they must have been expressed.

What conclusions can we draw from this comparison between facts and the Assyro-Babylonian accounts given above? The latter are frankly, nay grossly, polytheistic, whereas the Biblical account is purely monotheistic. Again, the Assyrian account does not seem to involve a creative act; the light, for instance, is rather the result of a conflict between two powers, an evolution rather than a creation, and we are reminded of the dualism of the Persian Zoroastrianism. It is particularly noticeable how the Assyrian story personifies the Chaos of the Bible; Tiamat is a deity or at least a principle of evil. This is part of that metaphorical presentation of things which we indicated above when treating of myths; but the Biblical account is absolutely free from it. Once more, as Prof. Sayce has well remarked, 'between Bel-Merodach and the Hebrew God there is an impassible gulf.'

What, then, are the relations between these Assyrian and pre-Semitic accounts and the Biblical narrative? It must be remembered that the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Hebrews, were, all alike, Semites; further, that the parent of the Hebrew race, viz., Abraham, had come out of Chaldea, and that at the Exile the Hebrews had returned thither. The advanced Rationalistic School would argue that since the Pentateuch, according to their ideas, is only to be referred in its present form to the period succeeding the Exile, i.e., to about 400 B.C., we must see in the account of the Creation preserved in Genesis nothing more than a myth derived from Babylonia during the time of the Captivity. Others, however, would hold that the Hebrews derived it from Chaldea in the period preceding the departure of Thare from Ur of the Chaldees, and that they preserved the original story in its monotheistic form, free from the accretions we now find in the Chaldean tablets. It is, however, a striking fact that the Bible presents to us Thare and Abraham as believers in the

One True God, and it would seem as though from the days of Noe, God had preserved for Himself a portion of the human race untainted by the prevailing idolatry, He had revealed Himself to Adam and again to Noe; yet it is implied all through this early period of the history, that, in spite of the defection of the vast majority of mankind, there was always a chosen seed which did not stand in need of new revelation of what had once been declared, though it did at times call for drastic purification from the errors which had inevitably crept in through contact with the unbelievers in whose midst they lived. It would seem, then, more in accordance with the facts to suppose that all along the course of the history the true account of God's dealings with man and of His formation of the world and of the human race had been preserved undiluted and was handed down from century to century. Indeed, when we come to reflect upon it, a purification of the Chaldean account of the Creation or of the Flood would have involved an almost radical change of the accounts.

What has been said will enable us to appraise at their true worth the various views which have been put forward from time to time with regard to the narrative of the Creation.

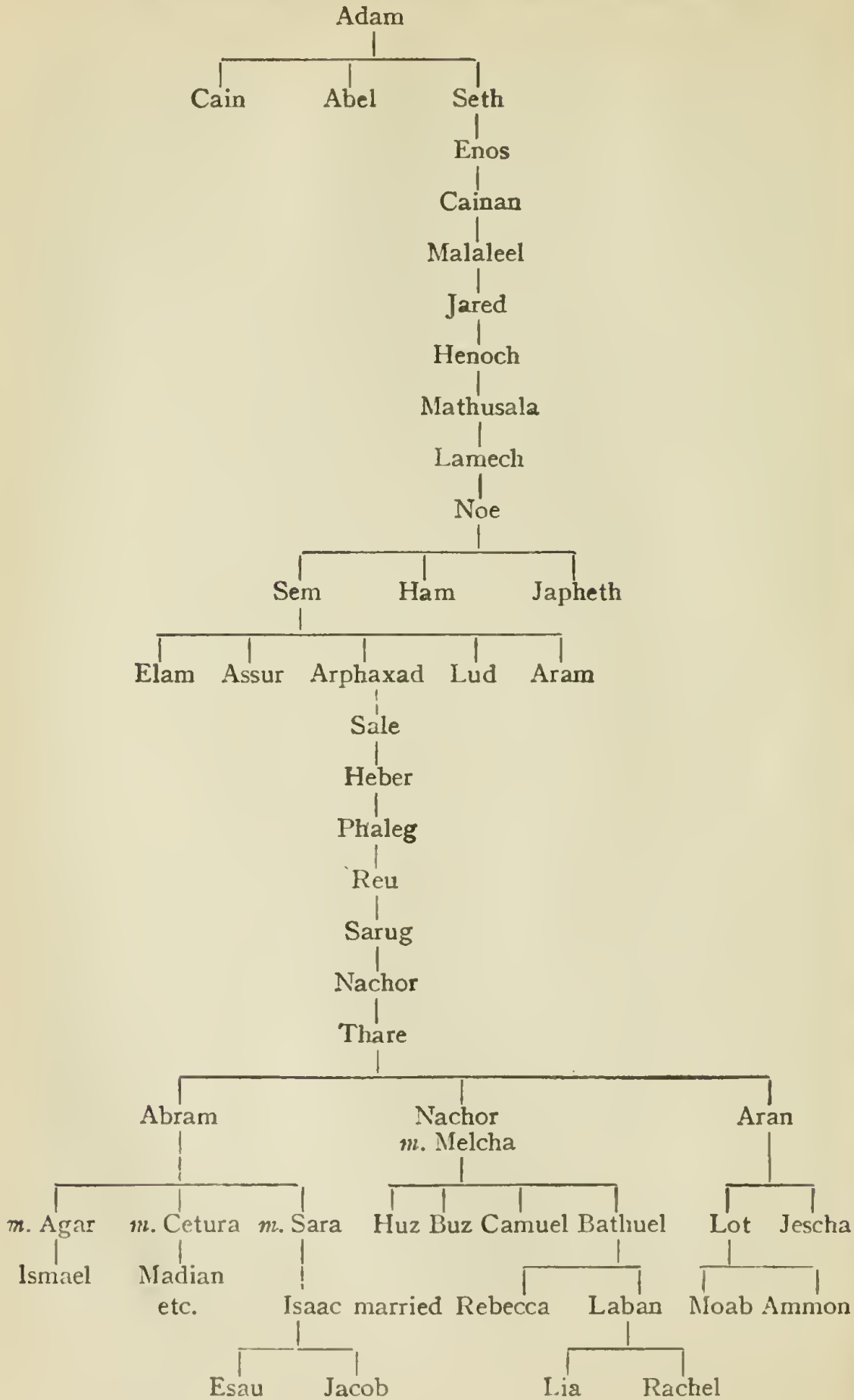
(a) *The Literal View.* According to this view the 'days' of the Creation were to be understood as literal days of twenty-four hours, and the week thus formed was a type of the Sabbath.

(b) *The Concordistic System* regarded the 'days' as periods of time. It was maintained, and rightly, that geology and astronomy proved the existence of a gradual series of changes, that the various species of animals, for example, did not appear on the earth simultaneously, but at intervals which were widely separated from one another. Supporters of this view held that the writer was only endeavouring to establish a harmony or 'concord' between the already existing week of days and the Creative acts of God.

(c) *The Idealistic View.* In answer to the previous view it was pointed out that geology did not really prove the existence of clear-cut divisions or periods; that the animals most characteristic of one period were to be at least traced in the foregoing,

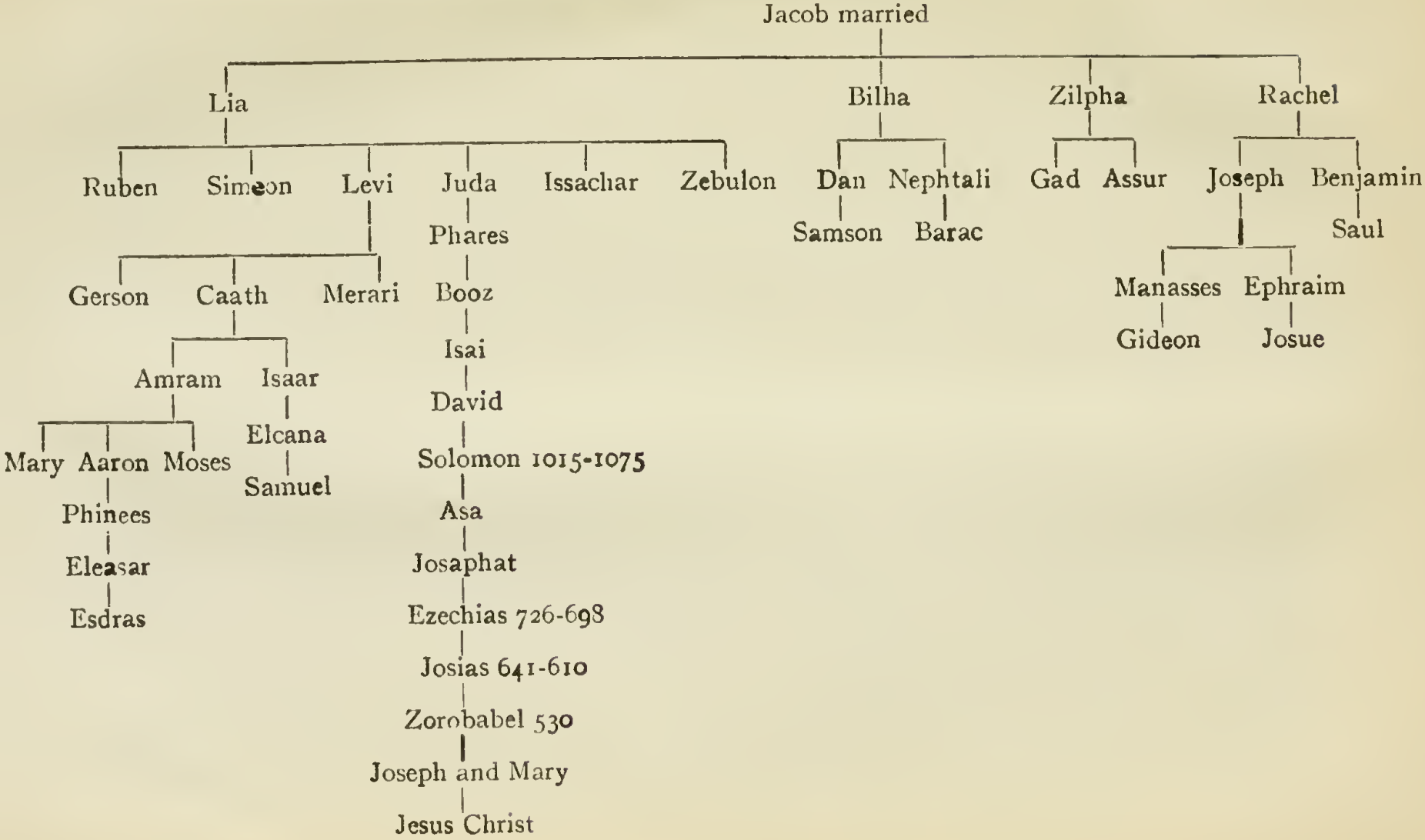
and so on. It was also insisted that the earth could not have been created before the sun, since its motion, indeed its very place in the universe, depends upon the sun. Hence in opposition to the foregoing views, the Idealist view was put forward under various forms; thus some would see in these early chapters only an *allegorical presentation* of the facts, and we are told to disregard the historical aspect of the account, and to see in it only religious teaching and popular statements of which the main points are that God created all, and that He sanctified the Sabbath-day. Others went further and declared that probably this first chapter was nothing more than a *ritual hymn* telling of the consecration of each day to God; it was suggested that this hymn was constructed as a set-off to the Egyptian ritual hymns, which embodies the same ideas. Another view, which probably gave rise to the term 'idealistic,' was that God showed Moses in a *series of visions* the various Acts of Creation. Of late it has been strongly maintained that the simplest solution of all the difficulties is to see in these early chapters the *history of the origins* of the world and of mankind told in *metaphorical* form. This view does not weaken the historical character of the narrative, it assumes it; but it endeavours to find a way of escape from the difficulties which beset all attempts to treat the accounts as strict history in the formal sense of the word. It is worth noting that this is no new idea, it is as old as St. Augustine; in his early work, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* lib. ii. cap. 2, he has some very wise words against the folly of trying to take all the statements in Genesis literally; while in Cap. xii. of the same book he proposes views regarding the formation of Eve which many would nowadays be inclined to regard as heretical! And it must not be forgotten that St. Augustine carefully revised these earlier writings of his and corrected many things in this very book, but he made no change regarding his views on the character of the account of the Creation; he says, indeed. that they are the product of his youthful pen, but he seems to have felt it unnecessary to modify them. See the Decrees of the Biblical Commission given above, and compare also the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas also given above.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PATRIARCHS.



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF OUR LORD'S DESCENT.

(Gen. xxix-xxx. Exod. vi. I. Paral. iii. S. Math. i. S. Luke iii.)



EXODUS.

In Hebrew *ve-elle Shemoth* from its opening words; in LXX. *Exodus*, probably from xix. 1. The Book opens with a list of the twelve tribes who went down into Egypt; it falls naturally into three distinct parts:

I-XI. THE EVENTS PRECEDING THE EXODUS.

i-ii. The multiplication of the Israelites, the rise of a new Pharaoh 'who knew not Joseph'; Moses' birth, his flight to Mt. Sinai.

iii-vii. 13. Moses' commission.

vii. 14–xi. 10. The narrative of the first nine plagues.

XII-XVIII. THE JOURNEY TO SINAI.

xii-xiii. 16. Legislation for the Passover; the unleavened bread; the tenth plague, i.e., the destruction of the First-born; the first part of their journey as far as Succoth; the establishment of a perpetual *passover* as a memorial of their deliverance.

xiii. 17–xviii. The destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea; the journey to Mara, Elim, and thence to Sinai; the miracles of the quails, of the manna, and of the water from the rock at Rephidim; the consequent encounter with Amalec; the arrival of Jethro.

XIX-XL. THE SOJOURN AT SINAI.

xix-xxiv. 12. The establishment of the *Theocracy* on the basis of the *Decalogue,* xix. 6-17, and of the *Book of the Covenant,* xx. 23-xxiii. 33, cf. xxiv. 7.

xxiv. 12-xxxi. Directions for the building of the Tabernacle, for the consecration of Aaron, for the maintenance of the ritual service.

xxxii-xxxiv. Moses' communing with God on the Mount is interrupted by the apostasy of the people who induce Aaron to make them a *golden calf* such as they had seen in Egypt. Moses in his wrath breaks the tables of the Law written with God's own hand; he intercedes for the people, is ordered to hew fresh tablets; is vouchsafed a wonderful vision of God; a resumé of the Book of the Covenant is given.

xxxv-xl. Execution of the plans for the tabernacle etc., as given to Moses in the Mount. The tabernacle

is erected '*the first month of the second year, the first day of the month*,' xl. 15.

THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT, xx. 23–xxiii. 33. This may be described as the 'core' of the whole book; it is the only real legislation given, since nearly all the rest is but a repetition or an amplification of it. Its contents may be summarised as follows:

xx. 22-26, No idols; the altar to be of earth.
xxi. 1-11, Hebrew slaves.
xxi. 12-17, Offences against life and limb.
xxi. 18-32, The 'Lex Talionis.'
xxi. 33-36, Penalty for negligences.
xxii. 1-6, Penalty for theft.
xxii. 7-9, Law of Deposits.
xxii. 10-15, Of loans.
xxii. 16-17, Of seduction.
xxii. 18-31, Against wizards; other miscellaneous laws.
xxiii. 1-8, Of truth and justice.
xxiii. 9, Treatment of strangers.
xxiii. 10-13, Of the Sabbath.
xxiii. 18-19, Elementary laws regarding sacrifices.
xxiii. 20-23, Promise of an Angel to guide them.
xxiii. 24-33, No compact with the Canaanites.

The **CODE OF HAMMURABI**, *q.v.*, should be compared with this elementary code of Hebrew laws, such a comparison will show how false is the notion that the Pentateuchal laws are something absolutely new or revealed. They form an *inspired* document, not one newly revealed.

POINTS THAT CALL FOR EXAMINATION. We may mention here among many others: the character of the plagues; the route of the Exodus; the miracles of the quails and the manna; Moses' visits to the Mount; the use of the expression 'the Lord said to Moses' as affording a possible clue to the character of the various laws; the *date of the Exodus*. This last question is, of course, bound up with the question which particular Pharaoh it was who oppressed the Israelites. Two main views have been proposed; (a) Thothmes III., who is commonly calculated to have reigned from

1503-1449 B.C., is held by some to have been the Pharaoh of the oppression. (b) Ramses II., who reigned from 1300-1234 according to Prof. Flinders Petrie, is generally held to have been the oppressor. It will, of course, be evident that if this latter view is correct, it will be no longer possible to maintain 1490 as the date of the Exodus; but cf. under *Chronology*.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES in Egypt have thrown a great deal of light on many questions connected with the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt, and their departure from it. The most startling discovery, however, and the only one we can dwell upon here, was that of the *'Store-City' of Pithom*. M. Naville in 1883 identified this city with Tel-el-Maskhuta which, so he showed, corresponds not only to Pithom but to the Succoth of the Bible. Naville further discovered that in the erection of the walls there were three kinds of bricks used: the first were made of mud mingled with straw, the second of mud mixed with reeds from the Nile, in Hebrew 'kash,' which is none other than the Egyptian word 'kash' meaning 'reeds'; it is unfortunate that in the Vulgate—and consequently in our Douay version—of Exod. v. 12, two words are omitted which completely alter the sense; we read 'the people was scattered throughout all the land *to gather straw*'; this should be read 'to gather *stubble for* straw,' i.e., to gather the Nile reeds as a substitute for straw. The third kind of bricks discovered at Tel-el-Maskhuta were made of pure mud, indicating presumably, a time when even the reeds were exhausted.

TABLE OF APPROXIMATE SYNCHRONISMS FROM ABRAHAM TO THE EXODUS.

Approximate Date	Palestine	Egypt	Assyria	Babylonia
c. 2200 or ? 2000 B.C.	Abram.	Shepherd Kings; Dyn. xv. xvi. xvii.	Irishum, c. 2000	Hammurabi, c. 2200 or 2000
c. 1900	Isaac	„		
c. 1840	Jacob	„	Ishme-Dagon, c. 1840	
c. 1750	Joseph	„	Shamshi-Ramman c. 1820	
	The oppression	Thothmes III.		
1490	Moses and the Exodus	Amenhotep II.		The Rule of the Kassites
	or, the oppression	Ramses II.	Asshur-ben-nishesu c. 1450	
	and			
c. 1230	Moses and the Exodus	Merenptah		

LEVITICUS.

In Hebrew *vay-yikra*, from its opening words; in LXX. *Levitikon*, a title descriptive of the contents of the Book; for, as has been well remarked: "As Exodus ended with the erection of the Tabernacle, xl. 15, by which God drew nigh to men, so Leviticus treats of the sacrifices by which men drew nigh to God."

Divisions:

The common division is as follows:

i-xvi. Laws regarding sacrifices, purifications, and the Atonement.

xvii-xxvi. The law of 'Holiness.'

xxvii. Commutation of Vows.

But there are many objections to this division which does not adequately express the contents, and which is based upon the view that chs. xvii-xxvi. constitute an entirely separate document, a view which is far from being proved. It seems more natural to regard the book as a collection of ritual laws which were given at different times as occasion arose and which were then codified. The way in which the formula 'The Lord said to Moses' recurs, is very striking. It seems legitimate to suppose that in each case it introduces a new precept due to some definite occasion which called it forth. We apparently have confirmation of this in the 'case of conscience' given in xxiv. 13, its resolution gave rise to definite legislation; it may well have been so in other cases as well. Taking, then, the recurrence of the expression 'the Lord said to Moses' as the basis of our division, we have some thirty-one precepts presented to us in a codified form. It is possible to see in them a certain historical order, thus:

i-x. The description of the sacrifices will naturally precede the ritual of the sacrifices, and this again will naturally precede the account of the consecration of the sacrificing priests, viii-ix.; similarly the episode of Nadab and Abiu could not have preceded the consecration of Aaron and his sons.

xi-xv. The laws concerning purity, etc., naturally precede the institution in

xvi. Of the *Day of Atonement* for sins committed against the foregoing rules.

xvii. No sacrifice is to be offered up except at the tabernacle; it is probable that this law, like that in xxiv. 14-23, was due to some 'casus' which called it forth. This particular law is of great importance as containing in germ the Deuteronomic law touching the *Central Sanctuary, q.v.*

xviii-xx. Divers ordinances touching marriage, charity, justice, etc., followed by a list of those breaches of the foregoing laws which were punishable with death.

xxi-xxii. Laws concerning the priests and those who may partake with them of the sacrifices.

xxiii. The Feasts and Holidays. It is possible that the laws relative to each of these were promulgated as each feast came round, thus note the repetition of the formula 'the Lord said to Moses' before each.

xxiv. 1-9. Sanctuary laws relative to the oil and loaves to be used; this law seems to be out of place, it is hard to attach it to what precedes; this fact may serve as an additional confirmation of the view that the various laws were promulgated as occasion arose.

xxiv. 10-23. The case of the blasphemer and the subsequent legislation.

xxv. Legislation for the Jubilee.

xxvi. A series of promises and threats which should be compared with Deut. xxxviii. We might naturally expect the book to end here, but an appendix is added;

xxvii. On the commutation of vows.

NUMBERS.

In Hebrew *Be-midbar,* or *vay-yedabber,* titles taken from the fifth word or from the opening words of the Book. In LXX., *Arithmoi,* from i. 2; but this title is hardly so felicitous as most of the LXX. titles, it only gives expression to what is but a minor point in the Book

Divisions:

I-IX. The sojourn at Sinai after the erection of the tabernacle; it should be noted that the opening

words indicate a close connection with Exod. xl. 15, Leviticus occupying a parenthetical place.

X-XIX. The departure from Sinai and the thirty-eight years of wandering.

XX-XXXVI. In the plains of Moab.

Fuller analysis.

I-IX. At Sinai

i-vi. Events attributed to the *second* month of the second year; the census of the tribes; their order in camp; the census of the Levites 'from one month and upwards,' they are consecrated to God instead of the first-born; their duties, they are to serve 'from thirty years.....to fifty years,' iv. 3; the purification of those ceremonially unclean; the law of the Nazirites; the form of blessing.

vii-x. Events assigned to the *first* month of the same year; the offerings of the princes at the dedication of the tabernacle; the consecration of the Levites, they are to serve 'from twenty-five years old.....to their fiftieth year,' viii. 24; renewal of the precept of the Passover; the pillar of cloud is to be their guide; the silver trumpets. It is practically impossible to avoid the conclusion that the different periods assigned to the service of the Levites, especially in conjunction with the sudden harking back to the first month of the second year, indicate the presence of different documents and of some change in the legislation regarding them.

X-XIX. The departure from Sinai and the thirty-eight years of wandering.

x-xi. The journey up to the time of their arrival in Cades. The first halt mentioned is at *Taberah* or 'the Burning,' xi. 3; they murmur, the manna given them is scorned; Moses is bidden to take seventy of the ancients as counsellors; quails are sent into the camp; the people is struck with a plague and the place is called in consequence *Kibroth hattavah* or 'the graves of lust'; they then pass on to *Haseroth*. A comparison with Deut. ix. 22, shows that there is a certain confusion here with regard to these various localities.

xii. Mary and Aaron murmur and are reproved

by God; the next halting place is in the desert of Pharan, where the Spies are sent to view the land. There is considerable difficulty here with regard to the position of *Cades*: in xiii. 27, the Spies are said to return 'to the desert of Pharan, to Cades,' R.V., in the Vulgate, 'which is Cades'; it is hard to reconcile these statements with xx. 1, which seems to imply that only at the latter time did they come to Cades. But a comparison with Deut. i. 24, 46, ii. 14, etc., would suggest that during all the thirty-eight years of wandering Cades was their centre and that the Spies were sent from that spot. If this be a correct explanation it will follow that Nbs. xiii-xix. is also to be referred to the sojourn at Cades.

xiv. The return of the Spies provokes a fresh murmuring, with the result that *God curses all who are over twenty years of age*, and declares that they shall never enter into the Promised Land.

xv. Laws regarding *Sabbath-breaking*, they seem, as in the case of Lev. xxiv. to have been promulgated owing to an actual case which occurred.

xvi. The rebellion of *Core* the Levite and of *Dathan* and *Abiron* the children of Ruben; the former rebels against what he regards as Moses' usurpation of the priestly rights; the latter resent the claim of the Levites to minister in place of the first-born, cf. iii. 45. The priesthood is then confirmed to Aaron and his sons by a miracle. The duties of the Levites and priests are re-stated; certain sacrifices are commanded.

XX-XXXVI. In the plains of Moab.

xx-xxi. They leave Cades and march towards the *Plains of Moab*. The thirty-eight years of wandering are over, yet even now the people murmur. Application is made to the *Edomites* to give them free passage through their land, it is refused. At this time *Mary* and *Aaron die*. The march is resumed, and the people murmur again, and are afflicted with a plague of fiery serpents; the *brazen serpent* is set up by divine command, and all who look on it are healed, cf. IV. Kgs. xviii. 4, and St. John iii. 14-16. The sinfulness of this murmuring is emphasized by the fact that it took place after they had won a victory over Arad the Canaanite. They now cross the Arnon

and win two decisive battles against Sehon and Og, the kings of the Amorrhites.

xxii-xxvi. Balac king of Moab summons *Balaam* the soothsayer to curse Israel. He is compelled to bless them instead; 'a star shall rise up out of Jacob,' xxiv. 17; owing to the diabolical advice of Balaam, the people fall into idolatry and four and twenty thousand are slain by Phinees son of Eleazar son of Aaron; a second census of the people is taken and from the striking fact that the tribe of *Simeon* now only musters 22000, as compared with 59300 in the former census, it has been suggested that this tribe were the most grievous sinners in this apostasy.

xxviii-xxx. Another 'casus,' that of the daughters of *Salphaad*, leads to the promulgation of laws regarding the inheritance of females; various sacrifices are enumerated and vows are legislated for.

xxxi-xxxvi. The Midianites who, at the advice of Balaam, had induced Israel to sin, are defeated, Balaam himself is found among the slain; Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasses receive their inheritance on the east of the Jordan. In ch. xxxiii., we have what purports to be Moses' daily diary of the different halting places of the Israelites since leaving Egypt. The limits of the Land of Promise are pointed out, cities for the Levites and for refuge are to be appointed. The case of the daughters of Salphaad leads to further legislation concerning the marriage of heiresses. The Book concludes with the words: "These are the commandments and judgements which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses to the children of Israel, in the plains of Moab upon the Jordan over against Jericho."

THE MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP. *Numbers*, by its place in the Pentateuch, sets out to be the record of what took place in the desert after the erection of the tabernacle. And it is no exaggeration to say that if we take the book for what it sets out to be we can arrive at a very clear idea of it, but the moment we begin to dismember it in the critical fashion we lose hold of the guiding thread and find ourselves lost in a maze; a glance at any modern commentary, or at any Dictionary of the Bible published during the last few years, will afford ample proof of this. *Leviticus* is

presented to us as containing the ritual legislation given during the sojourn at Sinai subsequent to the erection of the tabernacle, *Numbers* opens with the census of the tribes previous to breaking up their camp and setting out for the land of Promise. But the unexpected prolongation of their sojourn in the wilderness leads to further legislation. Now it is here precisely that we seem to find confirmation of the traditional view of the book. For this legislation is accidental, it is not detailed, it arises—as does some of the Levitical legislation—out of 'casus' which suddenly present themselves, and which call for immediate solution. We can well believe that the thirty-eight years of wanderings must have been exceedingly uneventful, and they are presented to us as such.

Moreover, when we examine into the details a little more closely we find many things which all tend to confirm the traditional view. Thus the book is full of the desert, e.g., the people are quite naturally represented as living in tents, cf. the law in case one 'dies in a tent,' xix. 14; the details about breaking camp, ix. 16, x. 28; the prayer of invocation before doing so, x. 35-36. And these points, be it noted, are introduced hap-hazard, no one who reads them can say that they have been inserted to give the narrative a semblance of reality, they are much too natural in tone for that. Again, the Arnon is spoken of as the boundary of Moab, xxi. 13, it never was so after its occupation by Reuben; similarly, the limits of the Land of Promise, as sketched out in ch. xxxix., were never realised; is it probable that a writer long subsequent to Moses would have ventured to assign limits to the land which his readers could see for themselves had never been realised? Would it not sound like a reflection on his nation? The same must be said of the account given of Moses' rejection from the land, at a later time no writer would have dared to present Moses as rejected through any fault of his own; and in this connection we must note the very severe and unfavourable picture of the Israelites which is set before us; we may well ask whether any Israelite at a later date would have ventured so to depict his nation, and whether, had he done so, he would have had any chance of securing a hearing.

Modern critics have endeavoured to whittle away

the force of the allusions to Egypt, and to the Exodus as a recent occurrence, but it is very hard indeed to escape their force; thus note how naturally the Exodus is referred to in iii. 13, xiv. 19, xv. 41. The statement, too, about the foundation of Tanis—as a date-mark appreciable by the people who had lived there all their lives till the last few months—is to say the least of it, striking. While the later writer who could have imagined so life-like a touch as that in xi. 4-6, was an artist indeed! And there is one historical detail to which it seems to us sufficient attention has never been called: all through *Numbers* the ark is supposed to belong essentially to the tabernacle, the former is the complement of the latter; yet we may question whether any Hebrew would have so depicted the relationship of these two, viz. the ark and the tabernacle, and this for the simple reason that they never were associated after the time of Heli, when, I. Sam. iv., the ark was taken by the Philistines.

DEUTERONOMY.

In Hebrew *elle had-debarim* from the opening words; in LXX. *Deuteronomion*, a title which is due to a false rendering of xvii. 18, which should be translated 'according to a copy of this law'; from a similar translation in Jos. viii. 32, it is clear that the word 'Deuteronomy' in Greek was taken as meaning 'copy,' but its ordinary meaning would rather be 'second law.' Philo uses the title 'Deuteronomy' sometimes, but also that of the 'supplement to the law,' a title which fairly well expresses the character of the book.

Divisions:

I. 1-5, an introduction describing with great precision the time and place of delivery of the discourses which follow.

I. 6–IV. 40. The first discourse, an historical retrospect; Moses passes in review the principal events which the Israelites had witnessed since their arrival at Sinai.

iv. 41-43 looks like an interruption of the orderly sequel of events, Moses sets aside the cities of refuge on the east of Jordan.

iv. 44-49 still further determines the time and place of delivery of the following discourse.

XII-XXVI. The great sermon; it falls naturally into two parts:

v-xi. A general discourse concerning their duties towards God, it may be regarded as introductory to the next portion,

xii-xxvi. in which more precise details are given. It is true, too, that whereas v-xi. give a recapitulation of past legislation, xii-xxvi. look forward rather than backward, and deal with the future rather than with the past; it is important to notice this since upon its due understanding depends the whole question of the date and authorship of the book.

XXVII-XXVIII. (xxix. 1) may possibly be regarded as a separate discourse, it deals with the ceremonies to be performed when the 'Law' is graven upon stones on the west of Jordan after they have occupied the land, cf. Jos. viii. 30-35. The connection between this discourse, however, and the preceding, seems to be clearly indicated in the closing words of ch. xxvi., and in the opening words of ch. xxviii. 'make thee *higher* than all the nations.' Chs. xxvii. and xxviii., then, may be regarded as the expression of the covenant (xxix. 1), which the people made at that time with God.

XXIX. 2–XXX. constitutes a species of supplementary discourse to the details about the covenant.

XXXI-XXXIII. is an historical appendix containing Moses' final exhortation, his canticle and blessing.

XXXIV. is an epilogue recounting his death.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BOOK. It is usual to speak of Deuteronomy as though it was purely exhortation, a collection of sermons and nothing more. While there is much truth in this, it should be noted that we are given many historical details which are not found in the preceding books, and it is important to notice these since neglect of them will lead to a false idea of the real purport and character of the book. Thus note in i. 6-7, the command to leave Horeb which is not found in Nbs. x. 11; in i. 45, the repentance of the Israelites after their defeat at Hor-

mah is mentioned, not in Nbs. xiv. 45; in ix. 20, Moses is represented as interceding for Aaron, this is not in Exod. xxxii-xxxiii.; in ii. 9 and 19, the people are told not to fight against Moab and Ammon, in ii. 4-8, nor against Edom, these points are omitted in the previous books; in ii. 10-13, we have an account of the aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine which is not given elsewhere; similarly, in iii. 4, mention is made of the sixty cities of Bashan, not elsewhere; in iii. 9, two variant names for Hermon are given, viz., Sanir or Sirion; ii. 26, the wilderness of Cademoth, otherwise unknown; in xxv. 17-18, the attack of the Amalecites is more fully narrated than in Exod. xvii. 8, etc. The same must be said of the *legal* portion of the book; it is not, as so many seem to think, a mere recapitulation of laws already given; as suggested above, the laws look backwards and forwards some are entirely new, the older ones are often presented in a new setting. It will suffice here to point out the following additions to the legislation previously given: in chs. xii. and xvi., the *unity of the place of the sanctuary* is insisted on, this is the most important of all the Deuteronomic additions; in xiii. laws for the suppression of false prophets; in xvii. 14, the 'law of the kingdom'; in xxi. a whole series of precepts found nowhere else; in xxiv. 1-3, the law with regard to divorce; in xxxi. 10, the command to read the law on the Feast of Tabernacles, etc.

DATE AND AUTHENTICITY. Taking Deuteronomy for what it professes to be, viz., Moses' last words before departing this life, everything in the book falls into its natural place. Its historical connection with the preceding events is indicated in xxxii. 48-50, which should be compared with Nbs. xxvii. 12. Similarly xxxi. 14-23, should be compared with Nbs. xxvii. 18-23; these two points indicate the historical framework of the book; the question is, however, whether they also serve to indicate the literary connection between the foregoing portions of the Pentateuch. Modern critics answer in the negative, and insist that we are to see in this close historical connection nothing more than a literary device by which the author strove to make his work look as like a work of Moses as possible, for modern critics attribute Deuteronomy to the

days of Josias 641-610 B.C. This is not the place to discuss this question at length. It will suffice to point out here some of the intrinsic arguments which support the Mosaic date, and which have to be explained away in some fashion or other by those who hold the late date of the book:

(a) **JERUSALEM** is never mentioned as the site of the central sanctuary; this cannot be because it was unknown, the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, *q.v.*, show us how well known the city was to the Egyptians of the fifteenth century B.C. We can only explain the silence of the author of Deuteronomy by supposing that he did not mention Jerusalem simply because he did not know that it was to be the site of the central sanctuary—indeed he probably thought the latter was to be at Silo; but if he did not know it he *cannot have lived as late as the time of Josias.* Nor is it sufficient answer to this that he hid his knowledge of its identity because he wanted to represent himself as Moses, who of course did not know it; this answer is insufficient because, though a natural one, it affords no solution of the other difficulties which the supporters of the late date of the book must remove. (b) In the same connection it should be noted that the **JEBUSITES** themselves, though known to the author, have no special interest for him such as they would have had for one who knew them as the race dispossessed by David. (c) The **PHILISTINES** were, from the time subsequent to Josue, the great enemies of the Israelites; how remarkable it is, then, that they are never included in Deuteronomy among the nations which are to be destroyed! (d) In ii. 4-8, the **EDOMITES** are spoken of in a way which would have been impossible after the commencement of the monarchy. (e) The **ABORIGINAL** inhabitants who are mentioned in ii.10-12 are not spoken of elsewhere. (f) The **CITIES OF REFUGE TO THE WEST OF JORDAN** are not given. (g) There is no hint that the author knew aught of the **SCHISM.** (h) **JUDA** has no pre-eminence. (i) The **DIVINE APPELATIVES** 'the Lord of Hosts' and 'the Holy One of Israel,' so common in writers of the times of the monarchy, are never found in Deuteronomy. (j) The use of the name **ABIB** for the first month is remarkable, it is never found after the time

of Josue, when the Babylonian name **NISAN** came into use.

The argument, then, is that a later writer, who wished to palm off his work as due to Moses, would hardly have been able to avoid giving some hint of the period at which he lived. It is asserted by recent critics that the Deuteronomist puts Moses on the stage to plead the cause of Monotheism with degenerate Israel; but to do that seven hundred years after the date of Moses—and never betray himself—argues a literary power and skill which has never been surpassed. In this connection should be noted the *Egyptian colouring* of the book; in vi. 21-23, the sojourn in Egypt is referred to in the most natural way; in vii. 8, 18, xi. 3, we find the same unconscious allusions which suppose that the facts referred to are recent and familiar to all, cf. vii. 15, xxviii. 60; and for Egyptian customs see xi. 10, xx. 5, xxv. 2.

Critics who hold that Deuteronomy is the offspring of Osee and Amos, and the parent of Jeremias and Ezechiel, have to explain the relationship between Jeremias and Deuteronomy. Now there is an undoubted similarity between the two; Jeremias shows a real familiarity with Deuteronomy; but this is just what we should expect when we reflect that it was in his life-time that Deuteronomy was discovered in the temple, cf. IV. Kgs. xxii-xxiii. But on the critical hypothesis we should have to explain how it is that (a) there are a number of expressions in Jeremias which are never found in Deuteronomy, e.g. 'an oracle of the Lord,' in Hebrew 'ne'um,' commonly translated 'saith the Lord'; 'the Lord of Hosts,' cf. *supra*; the expression 'house of Jacob'; also that of 'virgin of Israel'; 'to root up, pull down, waste and destroy'; etc. If Deuteronomy was composed about the time of Jeremias, as is supposed by modern critics, it is strange that words and expressions which are of such common occurrence in his writings should be conspicuous in Deuteronomy by their absence. (b) And conversely, there are certain Deuteronomic expressions which are absent from Jeremias, but which we should expect to find in his writings if Deuteronomy was really the creation of his age, e.g. 'Israel' used so often in Deuteronomy in an absolute sense of the nation, see

ix. 1, etc.; 'adhere to the Lord' often in Deuteronomy, never in Jeremias, yet certainly an expression which we should have expected him to use had it just come into fashion as is maintained. Lastly, the question of language is a delicate one, and it is unwise to attempt to dogmatise with regard to it, but there can be little doubt that the language of Jeremias marks a later date than that presented in Deuteronomy, though it is remarkable that the portions of the latter book which contain the greatest number of so-called Aramaisms are precisely those which are by recent critics acknowledged to be the earliest, e.g., the Canticle and the Blessing.

JOSUE.

Osee, the son of Nun, Nb. xiii. 9. He is first mentioned as a warrior, Ex. xvii. 9; later as a writer, xvii. 14; as the minister of Moses, xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11, 17, Nbs. xi. 28; as one of the Spies, Nbs. xiii. 9; his name is changed from Hosea, 'deliverance,' to Jehosea, 'the Lord will deliver,' Nbs. xiii. 17; because of their fidelity he and Caleb alone shall enter the Promised Land, Nbs. xiv. 6, 30, 38; he is the destined successor of Moses, Nbs. xxvii. 17-23; he acts as the latter's vicegerent, and Moses at the divine command institutes him as his successor, Nbs. xxxii. 28, xxxiv. 17, Deut. iii. 21-28, xxxi. 3-24, etc.

The **BOOK OF JOSUE** covers the period between the death of Moses and that of Josue, i.e., according to the ordinary chronology, from about 1450-1425 B.C.

Contents and Divisions.

A. I-XII. The Conquest of the Land of Promise.

(a) i-v. The miraculous entry of the Israelites.
i. Introductory.
ii. The two spies enter.
iii-iv. The crossing of the Jordan.
v. The Manna ceases; the Passover is kept; the Covenant of circumcision is renewed; Josue's divine commission is ratified.

(b) vi-xii. Josue's two campaigns, in the South and the North.
vi. Jericho is taken.
vii-viii. They are repulsed at Hai owing to the sin of Achan, who is stoned; Hai is taken.
ix. The Gabaonites deceive Josue; they are made slaves.
x. The Confederacy of the kings of the south is defeated in the battle of Bethoron, the sun stands still at Josue's command.
xii. The Confederacy of the kings of the north is broken up.
xii. A list of the kings whom Josue slew.

B. XIII-XXI. The Division and settlement of the land.
xiii. The assignment of the land to the east of Jordan to the tribes of Reuben, Gad and Manasses.
xiv-xix. The division of the land to the west of Jordan.
xx-xxi. The Levitical cities and the cities of Refuge are appointed.
xxii. A misunderstanding between the tribes to the east and west is settled.

C. XXIII-XXIV. Josue's last words; he makes a covenant with the people; his death.

The moral theme of the Book may be summed up in the words of the commission originally given to Josue in Nbs. xxvii. 15-21; cf. Jos. xxi. 41, 'God is faithful.'

AUTHENTICITY. The existing title does not prove that Josue himself was the author. Pseudo-Athanasius speaks of it as the 'Book concerning the deeds of Josue'; opinions are divided between Samuel, Esdras, and Josue himself as the author. That it was compiled at a very early date seems evident from two passages: in xvi. 10, we read of the Canaanites as resident in Gezer, 'until this day'; but in III. Kgs. ix. 16, we are told that Pharaoh drove them out. In xv. 63, the Jebusites are said to dwell with the children of Judah 'until this present day,' but this could not have been

said after the reign of David who expelled the Jebusites, II. Sam. v. 5. It is also noteworthy that in ch. xv. the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin are minutely given, whereas this is not the case with Ephraim and the other tribes, of whom it is said that they did not succeed in ousting the quondam inhabitants during the lifetime of Josue, chs. xvi-xviii. In estimating the lists of towns etc. it should not be forgotten that Josue himself, as one of the spies, had an intimate acquaintance with the land. In the existing Hebrew text, the first person is used, v. 1, 6, and iv. 23.

THE TERM 'HEXATEUCH.' This term has been invented by that criticism which would see in the book of Josue the natural complement to the Pentateuch. This criticism would regard the six books as a whole, and would bring down their composition to a very late date. It may suffice to remark here that such is the interdependence of the books of the Bible that a similar train of reasoning would justify us in assigning all the Books to a single author, as is really the case when we remember that God is the author of them all. Further, the repetition in Josue of facts already given in the Pentateuch seems fatal to such a view, cp. i. 12, with Nbs. xxxii. 20; xiii. 15, with Nbs. xxxiii. 33, and xx. 8, with Deut. iv. 41.

JUDGES.

JUDGES, THE BOOK OF. The Hebrew title is 'Sophetim,' compare the Carthaginian 'Suffetes' and, with reservations, the Roman 'Dictators.' The Book of Judges covers the period from the death of Josue to that of Samson. Heli and Samuel may be classed among the 'Judges,' though their history is not given in this book.

Divisions and Contents.

A. I-III. 6. Introductory.

(a) i-ii. 5. A summary of the wars with the Canaanites. This is apparently a sequel to the twelfth chapter of the Book of Josue.

(b) ii. 6–iii. 6. A direct introduction to the body of the Book.

B. III. 7–XVI. The story of the successive apostasies, consequent punishments, repentances, and deliveries of the people at the hands of the various 'Judges' raised up by God for this purpose.

C. XVII-XXI. Two appendices which should be compared, for style, with the Book of Ruth.

The moral thesis of the author is clearly set forth in ii. 10-23; Israel apostatised, was therefore afflicted by foreign powers, repented, was delivered by God through the medium of a 'Saviour,' and then had a period of rest until they again lapsed into idolatry, cf., for example, iii. 7-11.

The author's material seems to have been contained in a series of stories about these 'deliveries'; some were more important than others, or perhaps more abundant information concerning them was at his disposal. Thus, if we go by the length of the account left us of each, we can conveniently divide the 'Judges' into 'Greater' and 'Lesser.' Among the former will rank Othoniel, iii. 7-11; Aod, iii. 12-30; Deborah and Barac, iv-v.; Gedeon, vi-viii.; Jephte, x. 17–xii. 7; Ahialon, xii. 9; and Samson, xiii-xvi. The 'Lesser' Judges will be Samgar, iii. 21; Thola and Jair, x. 1-5; Abesan, Elon, and Abdon, xii. 8-15.

The Chronological difficulty is very great. According to III. Kgs. vi. 1, 480 years elapsed between the Exodus and the fourth year of Solomon; according to Jephte, Jud. xi. 26, 300 years had in his time already elapsed since the occupation by Reuben, Gad, and Manasses of the land to the east of the Jordan, and it is difficult to condense into the space of 180 years all the events which took place between the time of Jephte and the fourth year of Solomon. At the same time the recurrence of the number 40 is suspicious, and we may well believe that the author often speaks in round numbers. It seems certain, too, that some of the Judges and the periods of rest, as well as the times of oppression, were contemporaneous, thus in x. 7, a twofold oppression is referred to, viz. by the Philistines and the Ammonites; we may, then, reasonably suppose that the two 'deliverers' raised up, viz. Samson against the Philistines, and Jephte

against the Ammonites, were also contemporary. Again, whereas Gedeon seems to have been the only 'Judge' during his time, it is almost certain that while Deborah and Barac were engaged in their struggle with the kings of the north, the southern portion of the country was at rest after the removal of Eglon, iii. 20-23. This would allow us to distinguish three periods in the history as given us in the book before us, viz. iii. 7–v. 31, Othoniel, Aod, and Deborah; vi. 1–x. 5, Gedeon, Abimelech (who was not a Judge), followed by Jair and Thola; x. 6–xvi. 31, Jephte and Samson. The accompanying table will serve to make this clearer:

Judge	District	Adversary	Period of Rest
iii. 7-11. Othoniel	Whole land	Chusanrishathaim 8 years	40 years
iii. 12-30. Aod	The East	Eglon, king of Moab 18 years	80 years
iii. 31. Samgar	The West	The Philistines	
iv-v. Deborah and Barac	The North	Jabin, 20 years	40 years
		II.	
vi. 1-x. 5. Gedeon	The East	The Madianites 7 years	40 years
		III.	
x. 6-xii. 7. Jephte		Ammonites 18 years	
xii. 9. Abesan (7 years)			
xii. 11. Ahialon (10 years)			
xii. 13. Abdon			
xiii-xvi. Samson (20 years)		Philistines 40 years	

In the **APPENDICES**, xvii-xxi., we have two distinct stories which are given by the author to illustrate the lawlessness of the times; the first is concerned with the fortunes of the Danites, the second with those of the Benjamites. These stories are told at considerable length and in a very different style from the series of brief chronicles given us in the earliest portions of the book. The story of Ruth falls into the same category as those in this Appendix.

THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK. We clearly have to do with a compilation from documents, whether written or merely orally preserved; the two portions of the introduction, the various accounts of the Judges, the insertion of the story of Abimelech who was not a 'Judge,' and finally the two appendices, abundantly prove this. At the same time, the materials have been skilfully welded together, the moral purpose of the compiler serving to unify the whole, note, for instance, the formula he makes use of in the case of nearly all the Judges to point out the fidelity of God, and the infidelity of Israel. Jewish tradition, *Baba Bathra* xiv., points to **SAMUEL** as the compiler. Modern interpreters are inclined to attribute its ultimate compilation to the time of the **SCRIBES AFTER THE RETURN** from the Captivity. Hugo à S. Caro, c. A.D. 1240, referred it to the Scribes who worked for **EZECHIAS**. Prov. xxv. 1. But there is more evidence for attributing it to Samuel than is commonly conceded. It would be hazardous to insist that the Appendices are necessarily later than the body of the book, but if they are so it is worth noting the frequent recurrence of the formula 'in those days there was no king in Israel,' cf. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25. It is a legitimate conclusion that when the compiler worked there was a king of Israel. But he attributes the disorders of the time to the want of a king; could he, then, have witnessed the miseries of the Schism in 975? Further, i. 21, xix. 10, he speaks of Jerusalem as 'Jebus,' and says that the Jebusites still inhabited it 'until this present day'; it seems a legitimate conclusion, therefore, that he wrote before David, II. Sam. v., expelled the Jebusites. It would be even possible to go further and argue that he could hardly have spoken so en-

thusiastically of a king had he witnessed the deplorable struggle between David and Saul. This would bring us down to the time of Samuel, and a comparison between I. Sam. xii. 8-15, and Jud. ii. 11-23, shows a remarkable affinity between Samuel and the compiler of Judges.

For a summary of the work and office of the Judges, cf. Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 13-23.

RUTH.

This little book contains the story of a Moabitess who had married the son of a woman of Bethlehem named Noemi, 'beautiful,' who in a time of famine had passed over into Moab. Ruth, on the death of Noemi's husband and two sons, insists on accompanying her on her return to Bethlehem. For this constancy she is rewarded by being married to Booz of the tribe of Juda and thus becoming the mother of Obed the father of Isai (Jesse) the father of David. The book opens with the words: "In the days of one of the Judges," and reads like chs. xvii-xxi., the appendix to Judges. It affords us a glimpse of pastoral life among the Hebrews in a time of peace, and it also shows what their marriage customs were.

DATE. That the story belongs to a very early period is admitted by everyone, but it does not follow necessarily that it was therefore written at the same early date. The arguments, however, for assigning its composition to a post-Exilic date are insufficient. It is true that in i. 1, the story is presented as having happened in a remote past, but if Samuel wrote the book, as many think, and if the events took place 'in the days of the Judges,' we should have a sufficiently long interval. Similarly in iv. 7, the marriage customs are narrated as archaic, they practically accord with Deut. xxv. 5-10, but we do not know how long these laws were enforced. Certain affinities with the Books of Samuel should be noted; thus the expression in i. 17, cf. iii. 13, frequently occurs in Samuel. God is also spoken of as 'the Almighty,' Shaddai, a term which is confined to the earlier books.

The book was always held in veneration by the

Hebrews; for liturgical reasons it is by them placed among the Hagiographa, and thus separated from Judges. But in the Vulgate it follows immediately upon that book. This was also the order assigned to it by Josephus who reckoned it as one with Judges. In a famous passage of the Talmud, Ruth is placed first of all among the Hagiographa, even before Psalms. The Jews read it at Pentecost.

POINTS OF INTEREST. It is possible to refer the famine mentioned in i. 1, to that which took place during the Midianite invasion which Gedeon repelled, cf. Judges, vi. 3-4; possibly, too, the retirement of Noemi into Moab may have been due to the Moabite invasion of which we read in Judges iii. 12-30. It is of interest to note the connection between David's Moabitic descent through Ruth and the fact that when he himself was in straits he sent his parents to Moab for succour, I. Sam. xxii. 3-4. In addition to the references to the marriage customs, we should note the Levirate law, iii. 9, 12, iv. 1-10; the connection between the right to buy the field and the duty of therefore also carrying out the Levirate law is not brought out in Deut. xxv. 5-10, but cf. Lev. xxv. 25. The judgement in the city-gate should be compared with II. Sam. xv. 2 and xix. 8. Note also the salutation in ii. 4, and the beautiful expression in ii. 12.

St. Jerome says in his letter to Paulinus, Ep. liii. 8: "Ruth the Moabitess fulfills the prophecy of Isaias: 'Send forth, O Lord, the Lamb, the Ruler of the earth, from Petra of the desert to the mountain of the daughter of Sion';" and again he says, when writing to Principia, Ep. lxv. 1: "Ruth and Esther and Judith are of such glory as to have given their names to Sacred Volumes."

THE BOOKS OF KINGS.

Just as *Josue* and *Judges* are dependent upon the Pentateuch, so are the Books of Kings dependent upon the preceding books. It has been pointed out already that the appendix to Judges, as also the Book of Ruth, really form supplements to the history already given; the same must be said of the early portions of the Books of Kings, there is nothing to distinguish between

the rôles of Eli and Samuel on the one hand and those of Jephte and Samson, for example, on the other—they are all 'Judges.' At the same time the advent of Samuel marks a transition, the Theocracy is coming to a close and the **MONARCHICAL RULE** is at hand.

The four books have not the same author; the two former ones constituted one book, as also did the two latter. In the LXX. all four books have the common title of 'Kingdoms'; in the Hebrew text, and in the majority of versions made direct from the Hebrew, the two former are known as the Books of Samuel, the two latter as the Books of Kings; thus the *Second* Book of Kings in the mouth of a non-Catholic corresponds to the Catholic's *Fourth* Book.

The Main Divisions into which the Four Books fall:

A. I. Sam. I-VII. The *life of Samuel;* the Philistine oppression; the failure of the system of Judges.

B. VIII-XXXI. The *foundation of the Monarchy.*

(a) viii-x. Election of Saul by the people.

(b) xi-xv. His early victories; his failure; his rejection by God.

(c) xvi-xxxi. David is anointed at the express command of God; the struggle between God's chosen and the chosen of the people. Death of Saul and Jonathan.

C. II. Sam. I-XX. *Consolidation of David's throne.*

(a) i-iv. In Hebron.

(b) v-xx. In Jerusalem.
v-x. His prosperity.
xi-xx. His sin and its consequences.

D. XXI-XXIV. An *appendix* containing

(a) An account of the famine which is perhaps to be referred to the period treated of in ch. ix.

(b) David's Psalm of thanksgiving, peculiarly instructive as presenting us with Ps. xvii. in a slightly different recension.

(c) David's 'Last Words' in which he claims for himself the character of an inspired singer.

(d) A list of his 'Worthies,' it should be compared with the lists in I. Paral. xi., xviii., and xxvii.

(e) David's Census of the people with its consequent punishment and David's repentance; the threshing-floor of Areuna was probably the site chosen for the Temple.

E. III. Kgs. I-XI. The *reign of Solomon.*

(a) i-ii. His enthronement; death of David.

(b) iii-iv. Solomon's marriage; his Divinely-bestowed wisdom; his officers, his riches, etc.

(c) v-viii. The building of the Temple, its Dedication.

(d) ix-x. Another vision is vouchsafed him; his intercourse with Hiram of Tyre, and with the king of Egypt; his piety and riches; his fleet; the visit of the Queen of Sheba; more about his fleet and his riches.

(e) Solomon's fall; the threat of punishment; adversaries are raised up against him, Adad of Edom, Razon of Damascus, Jeroboam the son of Nabat; the prophecy of Ahias to Jeroboam; death of Solomon.

F. III. Kgs. XII-IV. Kgs. XVII. The history of the Schism and of the Divided Kingdom.

(a) xii-xiv. History of Roboam and Jeroboam.

(b) xv. Abiam and Asa in Juda, Nadab and Baasa in Israel; Asa makes an alliance with Benhadad, king of Syria, against Israel.

(c) xvi–IV. Kgs. ix. History of the *House of Achab.*

xvii–IV. Kgs. ii. Story of *Elias.*
xx. and xxii. The Syrian war.
xxii. Josaphat, king of Juda.
IV. Kgs. ii-viii., xiii. Story of *Eliseus.*
iii. The war with Moab.

(d) IV. Kgs. ix-xv. 10. History of the *House of Jehu.*

xi. Usurpation of Athalia, daughter of Achab and Jezebel, in Juda; her death, Joas succeeds her.
xii. The temple is restored.
xiv. Amasias in Juda; Jeroboam II. in Israel.
xv. Azarias and Joatham in Juda; Zacharias the last of the House of Jehu; Sellum, Menahem, Phaceia and Phacee, a series of usurpers in Israel.

(e) xvi. Achaz in Juda, he wars with Israel and Syria, he makes a league with Tiglath-Pileser against them.

(f) xvii. Osee reigns in Israel; Samaria is taken by the Assyrians, and the Tribes of the northern kingdom are deported to Assyria.

G. IV. Kgs. XVIII-XXV. The history of the southern kingdom to the Fall of Jerusalem in 588 B.C.

(a) xviii-xx. The reign of Ezechias; Sennacherib invades Palestine, his threats against Jerusalem, an angel slays 85,000 of the Assyrians; sickness of Ezechias, the ambassadors of the Babylonian, Merodach-Baladan, visit him; for his complaisance in the proposed alliance with Babylon, Isaias is instructed to foretell to Ezechias the Babylonian Captivity.

(b) xxi. Reigns of Manasses and Amon.

(c) xxii-xxiii. Reign of Josias; restoration of the Temple, discovery of the Book of the Law; his Reform, the great Passover is celebrated; Josias is slain by Nechao.

(d) xxiv-xxv. Reigns of Joachim, Joachin, and Sedecias; sieges of the city by Nabuchodonosor, its Fall in 588 B.C.; Godolias the Governor is slain; Evil-Merodach raises up Joachin in captivity, 561 B.C.

The peculiar features of this compilation will best appear from an examination of the following facts:

(a) The four Books cover a period of 538 years,

viz. from B.C. 1100 (approximately) to 562; but this period is very unequally divided over the four Books, thus,

I. Sam	covers	from	1100-1055.
II. Sam.	„	„	1055-1014.
III. Kgs.	„	„	1014-889.
IV. Kgs.	„	„	889-562.

(b) While I. Sam. is concerned with Samuel, Saul, and David, II. Sam. is concerned with David only. Again, III. Kgs. treats of Solomon and the first four of his descendants as well as of the first seven kings of Israel; IV. Kgs., on the other hand, treats of the thirteen remaining kings of Juda and the remaining twelve kings of Israel.

(c) The Books of Samuel and the Books of Kings are compiled on very different principles; thus in Samuel we have the plain history set before us, the compiler gives us no hint as to his own views, he neither praises nor condemns, nor does he tell us what sources he has used. In the books of Kings, on the other hand, the biographical character disappears, it is not so much the monarchs as the monarchy which interests the author; moreover, he is scrupulous in assigning the sources whence he has drawn his material, he mentions the *Acts* of Solomon once, those of the kings of Juda fifteen times, those of Israel eighteen times, only omitting to refer to the *Acts* of Ochozias and the three last kings of Juda, and to those of Osee and Joram of Israel. These *Acts* are cited according to a definite formula which will repay study. In the opening formula for each king of Juda, except Achaz, IV. Kgs. xvi. 1, and Joram, viii. 16, he gives the name of his mother; but he does not do so for the kings of Israel. The closing formula is always adverse to the kings of Israel; in the case of the kings of Juda they are condemned or praised according to the standard laid down in Deut. xii. 2-3. The place of burial of most of the kings of Juda is mentioned; it should be noted that Ezechias seems to have been the last king buried in the Tomb of David. Lastly, a brief account is given of the king's

deeds as well as of the sources of information used by the compiler.

(d) Unlike the author of III-IV. Kgs., the compiler of I-II. Sam. does not indicate the sources whence he derived his information; but from I. Paral. xxvii. 24, where we read of 'the Chronicles of king David,' also from xxix. 29, where we are told that Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, were responsible for these same 'Chronicles,' we can conclude that the compiler made use of first-hand sources, viz. the chronicles which were apparently kept at every court, see more in *Introduction to Chronicles*. For an interesting indication of the different character of the Hebrew text which the LXX. translators used, the student should see the additions in the LXX. of II. Sam. viii. 7 and xiv. 27.

(e) The compiler of III-IV. Kgs. has given us a wonderful proof of the pains he took; the Synchronistic History of Juda and Israel, II. Kgs. xii–IV. Kgs. xvii., is made up of short historical epitomes abstracted from the Annals of the two kingdoms, with longer narratives inserted touching the two great Prophets Elias and Eliseus, for whose history, be it noted, he indicates no authorities. In this Synchronous History he takes each kingdom in turn, states all that is requisite for the presentation of a particular reign, and then passes to the contemporary king in the other kingdom; the accession year of each king is dated by the regnal year of his contemporary. And of this history it must be said that although these Old Testament Chroniclers did not write history as we do, they yet accomplished a task which, putting aside all question of its inspired character, is unique. We have absolutely nothing like it in the world. Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt and Asia Minor, have in these latter years given us of their stores, but amongst all the inscriptions etc. which have been unearthed there is absolutely nothing which can be dignified with the name of history.

(f) But while the Books of Samuel are cast in a different mould from the Books of Kings, and while the authors of the two collections are different, there is yet a moral unity between them which must not be overlooked. For the underlying note of the four

Books is that, however unfaithful man may be, yet God always remains faithful to His Promises. This is the thread which runs through all four volumes—if we may so term them—and this, perhaps, is precisely the revealed doctrine for the preservation of which the authors were inspired to write as they did. And this undercurrent of thought gives such homogeneity to the whole that some have even supposed that a subsequent author must have revised the whole in order to bring this idea into full prominence.

(g) The moral purport of the four Books and the unity of thought which thus governs them is clearly shown in the way in which the history developes; we have the following steps:

1. The rejection of the Theocracy.
2. The institution of the People's king.
3. His failure.
4. The institution of the king 'after God's own heart.'
5. The divine promise of perpetuity to his race; for its material fulfilment this promise is dependent on their fidelity; but its spiritual fulfilment is unconditional.
6. The remaining portions of the Books tell of the people's infidelity, but of God's steadfastness.
7. The rest of Israel's history consists in their expiation of their fault, and in the gradual working out of the Divine Promises.

(h) Further, the Moral significance of the history is strikingly apparent in the sketch of the kingdom of Israel given us in III. Kgs. xvi–IV. Kgs. xvii. The author seems absorbed in the fortunes of the northern kingdom; thus in III. Kgs. xvi–IV. Kgs. ix., he is occupied with the House of Achab, then in IV. Kgs. ix-xiv. with the House of Jehu; in xv-xvi., he tells of the decay of the kingdom, and in xvii. of its Fall. And we note that the framework of the whole is the Prophetical history of Elias and Eliseus. The governing thought seems to be the presentation of God's attitude towards the two kingdoms, this is shown mainly by the Prophets raised up to correct them. As this

merciful correction was far more needed in Israel, so it was more wonderfully displayed there; and so, too, the Fall of the northern kingdom served as a moral lesson to which the author could point and which should have served to save Juda; thus note the author's moral reflections on Israel's Fall, ch. xvii., and compare the very brief reflections he makes in xxiv. 2, 20, on that of Juda.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF I-II. SAMUEL. Who the final author was, it is, of course, impossible to decide; that it was not Samuel is clear from the fact that his death is told in I. Sam. xxv.; we have already indicated the sources of which he made use.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF III-IV. KGS. It has been suggested that Jeremias the Prophet was the author, and though this cannot be proved, it is yet not improbable. Thus, (a) Jeremias is the only contemporary Prophet whose name is not mentioned in III-IV. Kgs. (b) IV. Kgs. xxv. is almost exactly the same as Jer. LII., viz. the story of the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. (c) The moral burden of his Prophecy and of III-IV. Kgs. is practically the same, viz. the Faithfulness of God and the unfaithfulness of the Davidic House; in this connection note the remarkable similarity between the Promises made to the Davidic House in III. Kgs. viii. 24-25, ix. 5, and in Jer. xiii. 13, xvii. 23, and xxxiii. 17. Compare also the threats regarding the future destruction of the Temple in III. Kgs. ix. 8, and Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8, xxii. 8, and Lam. ii. 15.

THE SUPERNATURAL SIDE OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS. David is a 'Theocratic King,' i.e. he reigns essentially as God's vicegerent; hence he has, besides his purely historical character, a typical character. The Jewish nation was always and before all things the 'Chosen People.' It goes without saying that they were not chosen for their own sake but for the world's sake, cf. Ex. xix. 5-6, Deut. iv., vii. 1-10, etc. And the position which Israel held with respect to the rest of the 'Nations' had its counterpart in that held by their divinely appointed king. He was the mediator between the people and their God, cf. II. Sam. xxiv.

17. He was also the head of all the nations, cf. II. Sam. xxii. 44, Ps. xxi. 28-29, lxxi. 8-11, etc. From the purely human point of view David's sin and its consequences are the central feature of the Books of Samuel; from the spiritual point of view, II. Sam. vii. is the key-note to his reign and to the whole subsequent history. In that chapter we are told of God's wonderful promises to David: *an eternal throne is promised to him and his children for ever;* the reflection of this is the key to much of the Psalter, cf. Pss. xv., xxi., xliv., lxxxviii., cix., and especially cxxxi. But there is another side to this picture: 'The gifts and the calling of God are without repentance,' says St. Paul, Rom. xi. 29, but man's co-operation is uncertain. Here we have the whole of the subsequent history of Israel and of the Church of God. Man, whose co-operation God deigned to regard as necessary, failed; yet not therefore did God fail. His promises will be fulfilled, not indeed in the same way as they would have been fulfilled had Israel remained faithful, but in God's own way, and in a spiritual manner. Thus, only a few years later, Roboam by his foolish conduct brought about the *Schism* and the tribes were rent asunder. The apostate nation was punished again and again, Samaria was blotted out—the lesson had no effect on Juda; Jerusalem was then blotted out and the stock of David was purified in the furnace of Babylonia; they came back haters of idolatry, but even then the old leaven was far from being thoroughly purged away, so, that at last the Romans 'came and took away their place and nation.' But meanwhile the promises of God were being silently fulfilled and the Tragedy of Calvary was the salvation of the world. It was the function of the Prophets to insist on this spiritual fulfilment of the promises, and it was the failure, on the part of the carnal-minded Jews, to realise this, which led to their persecution of the Prophets and to their own ultimate rejection; cf. Is. vii. 14, Jer. xxx-xxxiii., Dan. ix., Zach. ix. 9, Mal. i. 11, iii. 1-4, etc., etc.

THE TYPICAL CHARACTER OF THE KINGS OF JUDA can only be appreciated in the light of the foregoing. Just as the nation itself was a type or figure of the Church so was the anointed king a figure or type of

the Head of the Church. He was anointed in a special manner, cf. I. Sam. xvi. 13, II. Sam. ii. 4, v. 3, III. Kgs. i. 34-39; hence his title of 'Christus' or 'anointed,' in Hebrew 'Messiah.' What David and his children, then, were in figure, He Whom they represented was in reality, the Christ, 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' This typical character of the Davidic stock is well shown in those passages of the Prophets which speak of the future Messias as 'David,' cf. Ezech. xxxiv. 23, xxxvii. 24-25, Os. iii. 5, Jer. xxx. 9, etc. See also the use made all through the latter part of Isaias of the expression 'Servant of the Lord.'

THE CHRONOLOGY OF I. SAMUEL is obscure, but the following points should be noted:

(a) In Jud. xiii. 1, the Philistine oppression is said to have lasted 40 years; it is possible that the Judgeship of Samson, Jud. xv. 20, coincides with the first 20 years of this period while that of Heli may have coincided with the last 20 years, in which case the oppression would have ceased with the battle of Ebenezer, I. Sam. vii.

(b) Saul was apparently young when elected—it should be noted that the enigmatical 'two years' in xiii. 1, is given as 'thirty years' in some Greek versions; but Jonathan was a full-grown warrior at the battle of Machmas, xiii-xiv.

(c) David may have been of about the same age as Jonathan, at any rate he was 30 when he began to reign in Hebron, II. Sam. v. 4.

(d) These considerations make it probable that there is a considerable gap between chs. ix. and xiii.; the existence of such a gap would explain the defection of Saul, which otherwise must seem remarkably sudden.

We may suggest, then, as a working chronology, the following scheme:

B.C. 1150. Birth of Samuel.
1137. His 'Call.'
1127. Death of Heli, and battle of Ebenezer, I. Sam. iv.

B.C. 1127-1107. A period of oppression by the Philistines, vii. 2.
1107-1089. Samuel's Judgeship; battle of Masphath, 1107, end of the Philistine oppression.
1089-1079 (?) Judgeship of Samuel's sons.
1079. Saul elected.
1065. David anointed.
1059. Death of Samuel.
1055. Death of Saul.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF DAVID'S REIGN. We have little to guide us, yet there are certain points which serve to indicate the lapse of time; thus in iv. 4, Mephiboseth, son of Saul, is only five years old, but in ix. 12, when David becomes acquainted with him, he already has a son. Further, Solomon would seem to have been born very shortly after David's sin, yet he was certainly young at the time of his accession, cf. III. Kgs. iii. 7, I. Paral. xxii. 5; Josephus, indeed, says he was only 14 years old, and this seems confirmed by I. Paral. iii. 5, which makes him the youngest of Bathsheba's children. Again, the Famine in xxi. was because of the House of Saul, it would seem therefore to belong to a period subsequent to David's meeting with Mephiboseth, ix., and yet at the same time it was apparently antecedent to Absalom's rebellion, for Semei seems to make allusion to the cruel slaughter of the sons of Saul, xvi. 7-8. Lastly, the whole picture of David's last years and of Solomon's early years, shows that David's reign closed in peace. These various indications will allow us to draw up a working chronology somewhat as follows:

1055-1048. David at Hebron.
1052. Birth of Absalom.
1050-1048. Civil war, i.e. between the adherents of David and those of Saul.
1048-1015. David at Jerusalem.
1045-1035. Period of foreign wars. About this time, too, the famine may have taken place.
1035 (?) David's Sin.
1034. Murder of Amnon.
1023. Absalom's rebellion.

1023-1015. Period of tranquillity during which we should probably place the Census and the consequent plague, xxiv.
1015. David's death.

The accompanying Chronological Tables will prove useful to the student. In the section on *Biblical Chronology* we have pointed out some of the fundamental difficulties, but with regard to the chronology of the kings the student should note:

(a) That the Hebrews often used round numbers, the recurrence of the number 40 seems to indicate this sufficiently; thus compare the statements on the *Moabite Stone* with the chronological details regarding Achab in II. Kgs. xvi.

(b) There are certain patent contradictions in the text as it now stands, thus compare the data furnished IV. Kgs. xv. 30, 32, xvi. 1, and xvii. 1.

(c) The Assyrian *Eponym Canon* shows us that Achab took part in the battle of Qarqar in 854 B.C., and therefore did not die in 898 B.C.; also that Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser II. in 842, and therefore did not die in 856; lastly that Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser in 738. From these facts it seems certain that the chronology drawn up by Archbishop Ussher by adding together the regnal years of the various kings is practically forty years too early at many points. Hence Chronologists have drawn up a revised chronology which may be accepted in its broad lines though the details are disputable. This revised chronology has at least the advantage that it removes the *interregna* which we have otherwise to admit in the series of kings of the northern kingdom.

(d) St. Jerome's advice is practical: 'Read once more all the Books of the Old Testament, and you will find such discrepancies in the years, such a confusion of numbers between Juda and Israel, that is between their respective kingdoms, that it would seem rather the business of a lazy man than of a studious man to occupy himself with such a question.' *Ep.* lxxii. 5.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).

Dates	Palestine	Babylonia	Assyria	Egypt
1095	**Saul.** (Acts xiii. 21.) Naas, King of Ammon. (I. Sam. xi. 1.) Agag, King of Amalec. (I. Sam. xv. 32.)	Nebuchadnezzar I. c. 1145-1122 Marduk-nadin-akhe. c. 1100.	Tiglath-Pileser I.	Dyn. xxi.
1055	**David** reigns at Hebron.			
1047	**David** reigns at Jerusalem. Hiram, King of Tyre. Hanun, King of Ammon.			
1015	**Solomon.**			
1012	The Temple is begun. (III. Kgs. vi. 1.)			

Dates	Revised Dates	Juda	Israel	Babylonia	Assyria	Egypt	Other Persons and Events
975	953 or) 930	Roboam (the *Schism*).	Jeroboam.			Shishak (Sesac). Dyn. xxii. c. 989-967.	Ahias the Prophet. (III. Kgs. xi. 29; xiv.)
969	949	Jerusalem taken by Sesac. (III. Kgs. xiv. 25.)					Shemeias the Prophet. (II. Paral. xii. 5, 15.)
957	932	Abiam.					
955	929	Asa.				Zerah (? Osorkon) Dyn. xxii. (II. Paral. xiv.)	The Prophets: Azarias. (II. Paral. xv. i.)
954	927		Nadab.				Hananias. (II. Paral. xvi. 7.)
953	925		Baasa.				Jehu. (III. Kgs. xvi. 1.)
							Addo. (II. Paral. xii. 15; xiii. 22.)
930	901		Elah.				Benhadad I. King of Syria.
929	899		Zimri.				Ethbaal, King of Sidon.
			Amri. Samaria founded (III. Kgs. xvi. 24.)				

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).—*Continued.*

Dates	Revised Dates	Juda	Israel	Babylonia	Assyria	Egypt	Other Persons and Events
918	875		**Achab.** The Syrians invade Israel. (IV. Kgs. xx.)		Assur-nasir-pal. 884-860.		Mesha, King of Moab.
							Elias the Prophet. (III. Kgs. xvii.-IV. Kgs. ii.)
914	871	**Josaphat.**	Battle of Ramoth-Gilead. (III. Kgs. xxii.)		Shalmaneser II. 859-825. Defeats Achab at Battle of Qarqar, 853.		Micheas, son of Jemla. (III. Kgs. xxii. 8.)
							Hazael, King of Syria.
898	853		**Ochozias.**				Eliseus the Prophet. (IV. Kgs. ii.-xiii.)
897	851		**Joram.**				
893	848	**Joram.**					
885	844	**Ochozias.**					
884	843	Athalia.	**Jehu.**				
878	837	**Joas.**					
856			**Joachaz.**				
842	798		**Joas.**				(?) Joel the Prophet.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).—*Continued.*

Dates	Revised Dates	Juda	Israel	Babylonia	Assyria	Egypt	Other Persons and Events
841	797	**Amasias.** Jerusalem taken by Joas, King of Israel. (IV. Kgs. xiv. 13.)					
826	790		**Jeroboam II.**		Samsi-Ramman II. 825-812.	Dyn. xxiii. c. 820 (?).	Jonas the Prophet. (IV. Kgs. xiv. 25.)
					Rimmon-Nirari III. 812-783. took Damascus c. 800.		
					Shalmaneser III. 782-773.		
811	763	**Azarias.**					
					Assur-Dan III. 773-755.		First Olympiad. 776.
773	749		**Zacharias.**			Dyn. xxiv. Bocchoris, 772-729, defeated by Sabaka (? So) of Dyn. xxv.	
772	748		**Sellum.**		Assur-Nirari II. 755-745.		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).—*Continued.*

Dates	Revised Dates	Juda	Israel	Babylonia	Assyria	Egypt	Other Persons and Events
763			Menahen.				
761			Phaceia.				
759			Phacee.				
758	740	Joatham.		Nabonassar. 747-734.			Isaias the Prophet.
742	734	Achaz.			Tiglath-Pileser III. 745-728.		Rezin, King of Syria.
730			Osee.				Rome founded. 753.
				Merodach-Baladan. c. 730-710.	Shalmaneser IV. 728-722.		
726		Ezechias.					
721	722		Samaria taken by Sargon. *End of the Northern Kingdom.*		Sargon. 722-705.		Micheas the Prophet.
720						Battle of Raphia. Egypt defeated by Assyria.	
712		Illness of Ezechias.		Babylonian Ambassadors visit Ezechias.			
705					Sennacherib. 705-681.		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).—*Continued.*

Dates	Juda	Babylonia	Assyria	Egypt	Other Persons and Events
701				Battle of Eltekeh, Egypt defeated by Assyria.	
				Tirhaka, Dyn. xxv. c. 700-668.	
689		Babylon taken by Sennacherib.			
697	Manasses.				
681			Esarhaddon. 681-668.		
668			Assur-bani-pal. 668-626.		
				Psammetichus I. 670. Thebes taken by Assyria, 666.	
642	Amon.				Nahum the Prophet.
640	Josias.				

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).—*Continued.*

Dates	Juda	Babylonia	Assyria	Egypt	Other Persons and Events
625		Nabopolassar. 625-604. (Founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.)			Jeremias. Huldah. Sophonias.
609	Joachaz.			Necho.	
608	Joachim.				The Medes, under Astyages according to Berosus; under Cyaxares according to Herodotus.
606			Ninive is destroyed by the Medes.		
604		Nebuchadnezzar II. 604-561.			Ezechiel. Daniel. Habacuc.
597	Joachin.				
	Sedecias.				
594				Psammetichus II.	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).—*Continuea.*

Dates	Juda	Babylonia	Persia	Egypt	Other Persons and Events
588 or 586	Destruction of Jerusalem by Babylonians		Cyrus, King of Anzan.	Hophra.	Cyaxares, King of Media. 624-584.
				Amasis. 568.	Alyattes, King of Lydia. 617-560.
561		Evil-Merodach. 561-559.			
559		Neriglissar. 559-555.			Croesus, King of Lydia. 560-546.
555		Nabonidus.			
		Belshazzar, his son, co-regent with his father.			
538		Darius the Mede takes Babylon. (Dan. v. 30-31.)			
538	Edict for Restoration of the Jews.	Cyrus. (?) 538-529.			
529		Cambyses. 529-521.		Egypt taken by Cambyses.	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (SAUL TO THE MACCABEES).—*Continued.*

DATES.	JUDA.	PERSIA.	OTHER PERSONS AND EVENTS.
521		Darius I., Hystaspis.	Aeschylus. b. 528.
520	Aggeus and Zacharias prophesy.		
490			Battle of Marathon. 490.
486		Xerxes I. 486-465.	
480			Battle of Thermopylae. 480.
			Battle of Salamis. 480.
465		Artaxerxes I., Longimanus. 465-424.	
458	Mission of Esdras.		
444	Mission of Nehemias.		
432	Nehemias' Second Mission.		
429			Plato. 429-348.
424		Darius II., Nothus. 424-404.	
404		Artaxerxes II., Mnemon. 424-404.	Aristotle. b. 384.
401			Battle of Cunaxa.
382			Demosthenes. b. 382.
359			Philip, King of Macedon.

Dates	Juda	Persia	Other Persons and Events
358		Darius Ochus. 358-336.	
341	Jaddua, High-Priest.		
336		Darius Codomannus. 336-330.	Philip of Macedon slain. 336.
332	Jaddua goes out to meet Alexander the Great. (Josephus, Ant. XI. viii. 5.)		
331			Battle of Arbela. 331.
330		Darius slain. *End of the Persian Empire.*	
323			Alexander Magnus dies.
323-301			Struggles between Alexander's Generals.
321	Onias I., High-Priest.		
320	Jerusalem taken by Ptolemy Lagi.		
312			Seleucus Nicator established in Syria.
301			The battle of Issus. Seleucus defeats Antigonus.

PARALIPOMENON I-II.

In Greek *Paraleipomenon;* in Hebrew *Dibre hayyamin,* or, as St. Jerome renders it, 'Words of the Days,' to which the title *Chronicles* corresponds, a title, too, which more fittingly expresses the contents and purport of the book than the Greek title 'Paraleipomena,' or 'things left out,' i.e. in I-IV. Kgs. The two books originally formed but one in the Hebrew text, and the Massoretes term I. Paral. xxvii. 25, the central verse. It is possible, too, that Chronicles—as we shall henceforth term the book—once formed one book with Esdras and Nehemias, thus the last verses of II. Chron. are identical with Esdras i. 1-3a.

OBJECT OF THE BOOK. The author gives us the Levitical history of Israel, i.e. the history of the kingdom of Juda from the standpoint of the Levitical body; this will become clear from an analysis of the contents.

Contents and Divisions.

I. Chronicles.

i-ix. A series of genealogies serving as an introduction to what follows by summing up the past history and bringing down the family histories to the Restoration period.

x. The death of Saul told as an introduction to

xi-xxix. The history of David, or rather, of the Davidic House. This history is presented from a moral standpoint only, the author wishes to show that according as the House of David was faithful to the Law or unfaithful to it, the result was a manifestation of God's mercy or of His justice. This theme is especially prominent in II. Chron. where the author dwells at length on the reigns of the good kings while passing over, with a few words of condemnation, those who were unfaithful.

II. Chronicles.

i-ix. Solomon as the builder of the temple.

x. The Schism.

x-xii. Roboam; after an account of his building and his wars he is condemned, xii. 14.

xiii. Abiam; he is presented in a most favourable light, in contradistinction to III. Kgs. xv. 3.

xiv-xvi. Asa; he is praised at the outset, xiv. 2; this praise is modified, xv. 17; lastly, he is criticised severely, xvi. 10-12.

xvii-xx. Josaphat; he is praised at the outset, xvii. 3-6; he is condemned, xix. 2, for his alliance with Achab; and the unstinted praise first given is much qualified at the close, xx. 32-33.

xxi. Joram; he is unhesitatingly condemned.

xxii-xxiv. Ochozias and Athalia; they are both condemned, and much stress is laid on the part taken in the deposition of the latter by Joiada the priest.

xxiv. Joas; he begins well, xxiv. 2, but after the death of his counsellor Joiada he falls away, xxiv. 18-22.

xxv. Amasias; he begins well, though the praise accorded him is qualified, xxv. 2-4; afterwards he fell into idolatry, xxv. 14, 27.

xxvi. Azarias (Ozias or Uzziah); like his immediate predecessors, he also began well, xxvi. 4; but later his heart was lifted up and he attempted to arrogate to himself the prerogatives of the priesthood, xxvi. 16.

xxvii. Joatham; he is praised unstintingly; but, contrary to his usual habit, the Chronicler assigns him a very brief account.

xxviii. Achaz; in some senses the worst of all the Davidic house.

xxix-xxxii. Ezechias; the ideal king, he is praised most highly, and even his behaviour on occasion of the visit of Merodach-Baladan's ambassadors is set forth in a most apologetic light, cf. IV. Kgs. xx. 14-19.

xxxiii. Manasses and Amon; both are utterly corrupt, yet the former repents after condign chastisement has been inflicted upon him. The words in xxxiii. 19, gave rise to the apocryphal *Prayer of Manasses*, *q.v.*, which is still preserved in the appendix to the Vulgate Bible.

xxxiv-xxxv. Josias; perhaps even more than Ezechias the ideal king, no word of blame is attached to him.

xxxvi. Joachaz, Joakim, Joachin, and Sedecias; they

are all irretrievably bad, and the city is stormed by the Chaldeans.

This brief analysis will show that the Chronicler treats the history in very different fashion to that adopted by the authors of I-IV. Kgs. And this will be more apparent from the following statistics:

(a) I-IV. Kgs. contains 107 chapters all devoted to the history of the kingdom or to the immediate preparation for it.

(b) I-II. Chronicles contains only 65 chapters; the first nine of these are devoted to the genealogies. This leaves but 56 for the actual history.

(c) The history from David's death to the fall of the city is all given in II. Chron., for the whole of I. Chron. x-xxix. is taken up with the history of David.

(d) The history of Israel is not touched upon at all except in so far as it is necessary for the understanding of the history of the Davidic house.

FURTHER PECULIAR FEATURES IN THE HISTORICAL TREATMENT. As we said at the outset, the history is presented from the Levitical standpoint. This will be at once apparent from an examination of the long series of *additions* to the history as presented in I-IV. Kgs. We give them in order; the student will find them exceedingly useful.

I. Chronicles.

1. xi. 42-46, additions to the list of 'heroes' given in II. Sam. xxiii.
2. xii. 1-40, a new list of 'heroes' who accompanied him to Siceleg.
3. xiii. 1-4, David's address regarding the removal of the ark.
4. xv. 1-24, the Levitical arrangements for the transportation of the ark.
5. xvi. 4-42, the procession of the Levites and the Psalms they sang.
6. xxi. 6-7, the statement that Levi and Benjamin were not numbered owing to Joab's unwilling obedience to the decree.

7. xxi. 29-30, the statement that the tabernacle was at Gabaon; also that David feared at the sight of the Angel.

8. xii-xxix., David's enactments regarding the Temple and its ritual.

II. Chronicles.

1. vii. 1, the 'fire' is not mentioned in III. Kgs. viii.

2. xi. 5–xii. 1, Roboam's buildings, etc.

3. xii. 5-14, the words of the Prophet Semeias.

4. xiii. 3-22, Abiam's speech to his army, his victory over Jeroboam.

5. xiv. 5–xv. 15, the victory of Asa over Zera, the Prophet Azarias encourages him.

6. xvi. 7-10, 14, the Prophet Hanani rebukes Asa for seeking help from the Syrians. The account of Asa's burial.

7. xvii. 1-19, Josaphat's reforms; the Philistines and Arabians bring tribute. His captains.

8. xix. 1–xx. 30, Josaphat's further reforms; his judges; the Prophet Jehu, son of Hanani, rebukes him for helping Achab; Josaphat's defeat of Moab, Ammon and Syria; the words of Jahaziel the Levite on that occasion.

9. xxi. 2-4, Josaphat's sons

10. xxi. 12-20, Elias' letter to Joram son of Josaphat.

11. xxii. 6, Ochozias' wounds.

12. xxiv. 15-22, Joas' apostasy; death of Zacharias the Prophet.

13. xxv. 5-16, Amasias hires Israel; he is rebuked by a 'man of God'; he worships Edomite gods; he is rebuked by a Prophet.

14. xxvi. 5-21, Ozias' power; his building; his defection; his leprosy.

15. xxvii. 3-6, Joatham is a good king; his building.

16. xxviii. 5-15, Israel attacks Achaz; the Prophet Oded rebukes Israel.

17. xxix. 3 – xxxi. 31, Ezechias' speech previous to the purification of the temple; his Passover; his reformation; the tithes.

18. xxxii. 2-6, Ezechias' preparations against Sennacherib.

19. xxxiii. 11-17, 20, Manasses' captivity; his repentance; his release; his building.

20. xxxiv. 11-14, details of Josias' preparation for building the Temple.

21. xxxiv. 32b-33, the effects of Josias' reform.

22. xxxv. 2-19, Josias' Passover.

23. xxxv. 21-27, details of Josias' death at the hands of Pharaoh Nechao.

24. xxxvi. 22-23, Cyrus' decree.

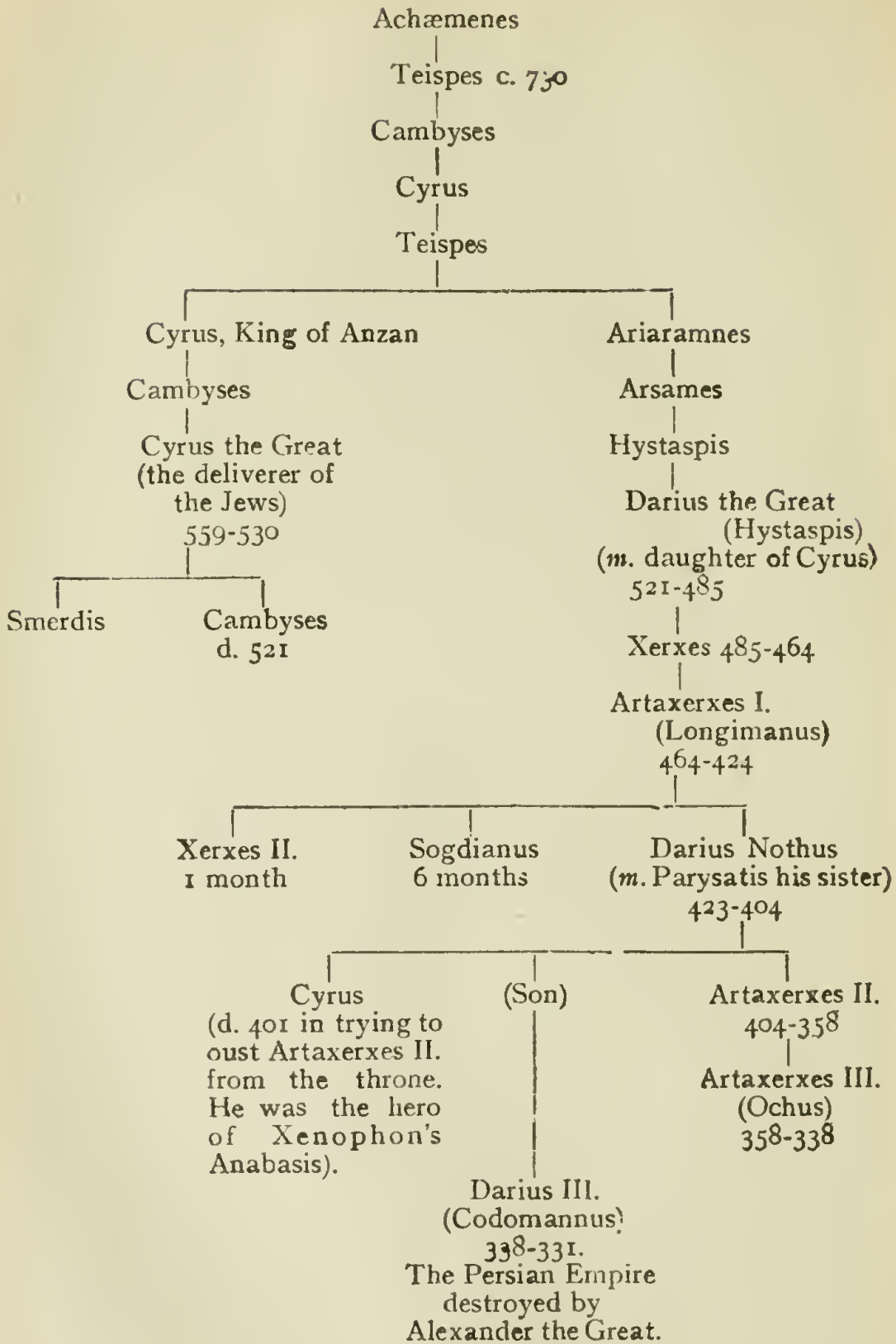
Curious additions to the history can be traced in the genealogies; thus see iv. 42; 39, 42; v. 17 and ix. 1; v. 18, 26; vi. 48-49; ix. 2.

And the *omissions* are no less startling. The whole story of David's sin and its consequences is omitted, i.e. II. Sam. xi-xxii. An examination of I. Chron. xx., is particularly interesting from this point of view.

THE DATE. The books of Chronicles are generally assigned to the third century B.C., but apparently the only ground for so doing is the fact that the genealogies are brought down as late as the third century; it should be remembered, however, that the genealogies may have easily been added to later, this may possibly have been the case with Ruth iv. 18-22. There seems to be no positive reason, then, why we should relinquish the idea that Esdras was the author of Chronicles though it is by no means necessary to hold this.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF CHRONICLES. St. Jerome's declaration on this point is rejected nowadays by modern critics who leave the fact of Biblical inspiration out of their calculations. St. Jerome said: "The book of things omitted, or epitome of the old dispensation, is of such importance and value that without it any one who should claim a knowledge of the Scriptures would make himself a laughing-stock" (Ep. liii). One thing that strikes even the cursory reader of Chronicles is the care with which the author or compiler cites his authorities. We have some fifteen indications of the sources at the compiler's disposal; these fall into two distinct groups (a) the regular Chronicle apparently kept at the court, the title of

this work is variously given: *The Book of the Kings of Juda and Israel,* II. Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26; or, with *Israel* first, II. Chron. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 26; or more briefly, *The Acts of the Kings of Israel,* II. Chron. xxxiii. 18. It is possible, of course, that these may really be distinct works. (b) The *Acts* of various Prophets; a study of these titles is of the greatest interest, see I. Chron. xxix. 29, II. Chron. ix. 29, xii. 15, xiii. 22, xx. 34, xxiv. 27, xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32, xxxiii. 19. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that these *Acts* are thus variously named as indicating the different Prophets from whom they emanated. Moreover, a comparison with the parallel passages in III-IV. Kgs. would seem to show that the compilers of Chronicles and Kings had practically the same sources, thus cf. II. Sam. viii. 16-18, and I. Chron. xviii. 15-17; similarly note how in I. Chron. xxix. 29, the *Acts of David* are said to be derived from precisely those Prophets, viz. Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, who were contemporary with David. Special attention should be paid to II. Chron. xx. 34, and xxxii. 32 (with regard to this latter passage it should be noted that the most important part of it is omitted in many of the printed editions of the Douay version). According to the Hebrew text, the former passage seems to state that Jehu the Prophet *entered* these things into the Book of the *Acts* of the Kings of Israel; similarly, the second passage asserts that Isaias also *entered* his 'vision' into the Book of the Kings of Juda and Israel; in the Vulgate, LXX., and Douay, we have an 'and' inserted, which seems to destroy the significance of the original. These two passages alone will explain certain features in the records preserved for us in Kings and Chronicles, e.g. their appearance of being 'daily chronicles'; the unflinching record of even failures in the most impartial fashion; the lengthy passages touching the work of the Prophets. Thus the 'sources' at the disposal of the compilers of Kings and Chronicles were the various official reports drawn up by the court-recorders. That it was customary to have such official recorders is apparent from II. Sam. viii. 16; and it is well known that the Assyrian and Babylonian kings had such officials attached to their courts.


Achæmenes
Teispes c. 730
Cambyses
Cyrus
Teispes
Cyrus, King of Anzan
Ariaramnes
Cambyses
Arsames
Cyrus the Great (the deliverer of the Jews) 559-530
Hystaspis
Darius the Great (Hystaspis) (m. daughter of Cyrus) 521-485
Smerdis
Cambyses d. 521
Xerxes 485-464
Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus) 464-424
Xerxes II. 1 month
Sogdianus 6 months
Darius Nothus (m. Parysatis his sister) 423-404
Cyrus (d. 401 in trying to oust Artaxerxes II. from the throne. He was the hero of Xenophon's Anabasis).
(Son)
Artaxerxes II. 404-358
Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) 358-338
Darius III. (Codomannus) 338-331. The Persian Empire destroyed by Alexander the Great.

At the same time it would be idle to deny that there are many difficulties to be faced when we compare the Books of Kings with the Chronicles. We must leave it for the commentator to elucidate these, it will suffice here to point out that St. Jerome complains more than once of the corrupt state of the text of Chronicles, and also to call to mind St. Augustine's dictum: "If I light upon anything in the letter of Scripture, which seems to be contrary to the truth, I have no hesitation in saying that either the text is faulty, or that the translator has erred, or that I have failed to understand" (*Ep.* lxxvi. *inter Opera* S. Hier).

THE THEOLOGY OF THE CHRONICLER. It is of interest to remark the changes which the Chronicler, writing at a later date than the compiler of Kings, has made in his exposition of God's dealings with men; thus cf. I. Chron. xxi. 1, with II. Sam. xxiv. 1; the student should also compare the account of God's promises to David in II. Sam. vii., and in I. Chron. xvii. For theological statements due to the Chronicler note I. Chron. x. 14, the moral of Saul's fall; xv. 2, choice of the Levites; xix. 11, their position; xvii. 17-18, contains additions; xxii. 1, identifies Ornan's threshing-floor with the temple site. In II. Chron., note vi. 40-42; xiv. 17; xx. 37; xxi. 7; xxv. 4,16; xxvi. 7, 16-17; xxviii. 5, 19; xxxiii. 11.

ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAS.

These two books are sometimes called Esdras I. and II., but the distinction of names is useful as indicating the persons whose 'acts' are given in each. The two books were originally one, and the Massoretes point to Neh. ii. 32, as the central verse of the combined books. They deal with the restoration of the Jews owing to the Decree of Cyrus after his conquest of Babylonia in 538 B.C.; Esdras treats of the re-building of the Temple, Nehemias of the re-building of the city-walls. The two books cover the period from the Decree of Cyrus, 538, to a few years after the 32nd year of Artaxerxes I., Longimanus, i.e. 432 B.C., roughly speaking, one hundred years.

THE HISTORICAL AND MORAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BOOKS. These two books cover a period for which we have no other evidence of real value; we see portrayed in them the Jews as they were after the Captivity. While that stern discipline has purged away all idolatry from their midst they are yet not free from other grave faults which threaten to ruin them once more, see Esdras ix-x, Neh. v. and xiii., for the grave abuses which soon prevailed after the Restoration. Esdras and Nehemias, by their rigid enforcement of the Mosaic law, Neh. viii-ix., saved the Chosen People from incurring the same punishment as had fallen upon their fathers. The moral of the two books may be summed up as confidence in the Divine faithfulness, cf. Esdras i. 1, Neh. ii. 20, iv. 20, etc. These books should be read with the prophecies of Aggeus, Zacharias, and Malachias.

Contents and Divisions.

ESDRAS.

A. I-VI. *The return under Zorobabel*

i-iv. 7, a description of what took place under Zorobabel.

i., the Decree of Cyrus.

ii., the list of those who returned.

iii., the altar is set up; they keep the feast of Tabernacles; the foundations of the new temple are laid.

iv. 1-7, the opposition of the Samaritans throughout the reigns of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspis, Assuerus (Xerxes), and Artaxerxes.

iv. 8–vi. 18, various documents in *Chaldaic* relative to the attempts at stopping the progress of the rebuilding.

(a) iv. 8-23, the appeal against the Jews to Artaxerxes, and its success; it should be noted that this document is given by way of digression, the author had said in iv. 7, that appeal had been made in the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes and he gives the documents containing this appeal, but in iv. 24, he takes up the thread dropped at iv. 5.

(b) iv. 24–v. 2, the Jews renew their attempt

to rebuild the temple in the second year of Darius; they are stimulated by the Prophets Aggeus and Zacharias.

(c) v. 3–vi. 18, a fresh appeal against them is lodged with Darius who orders an investigation to be made regarding the alleged Decree of Cyrus; the Decree is found and Darius orders its execution. In vi. 14-15, the apparent chronological inversion by which v. 15 seems to contradict v. 14, will disappear if we bear in mind that the author is speaking of things which happened long before his time, for he is writing in the reign of Artaxerxes, cf. vii. 1, and Neh. viii. 9.

vi. 19-22, an account, in Hebrew, of the Passover kept after the return; note that the king is called 'the king of the Assyrians.'

B. vii-x. *Esdras describes his own return* in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I., i.e. 458 B.C.

vii., the return; the Decree in his favour from Artaxerxes, note that the first person is used from vii. 27–ix. 15.

viii., a list of his companions; the sacred vessels.

ix., he mourns for the sin of the people in that they have married wives of other nations.

x., all agree to put away these wives; a list of those who had so married.

NEHEMIAS.

A. I.–VII. *Nehemias' account of his return* from Babylon in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I., i.e. 444 B.C. ; the re-building of the city walls.

i-ii., Nehemias' grief at the news that the city is still desolate and its walls broken down; he gets permission from Artaxerxes to return; his journey and his first tour of the city walls by night; the opposition of Sanballat, Tobias and Gosem commences.

iii-vi., the walls are built in fifty-two days, in spite of the violent opposition of Tobias and his friends; the rich Jews are blamed for oppressing their poorer brethren.

vii., Nehemias finds the list of those who came up with Zorobabel, this list is the same as that given in Esdras ii., certain names, however, are differently given; but the numbers are very different, though the ultimate total, 42,360, is the same.

B. VIII-X. *The reading of the Law and the Renewal of the Covenant.*

viii., the solemn reading of the Law in the seventh month of the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; the feast of Tabernacles is kept.

ix., the public repentance; the public recitation of God's mercies throughout the history of Israel.

x., the Covenant is signed; the names of the signatories are given, as also the contents of the Covenant; note that the first person is used throughout this account of the Covenant.

C. XI-XII. The restoration of the city is concluded and the walls are blessed.

xi., a catalogue of the inhabitants.

xii., a list of the priests; the succession of High Priests; the dedication of the walls.

D. XIII. Various abuses are rectified by Nehemias, who returns after an absence in Babylon, whither he had gone in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I.

1-9, Tobias the Ammonite is ejected from the temple according to Deut. xxiii. 3.

10-14, the tithes are exacted.

15-22, the profanation of the Sabbath is put a stop to.

23-31, strange wives are put away.

Though the foregoing divisions may seem straightforward enough, the student will find on examination that Esdras-Nehemias is a very composite work, and that it is by no means easy to follow the order of events as depicted. We have endeavoured to facilitate matters by the notes we have inserted above apropos of Esdras iv-vi. 18. A list of the documents cited will perhaps be useful.

1. The decree of Cyrus, Esdras i. 2-4.

2. The epistle of the Satraps to Artaxerxes I., iv. 9-16.
3. The reply, iv. 17-22.
4. The epistle of the Satraps to Darius Hystaspis, v. 7-17.
5. His reply, vi. 3-12.
6. The decree of Artaxerxes I., in accordance with the decree of Cyrus which he has discovered, vii. 12-26.
7. Catalogue of those who returned under Zorobabel, ii. 1-70; the same is repeated, Neh. vii. 7-69.
8. Catalogue of those who returned with Esdras, Esd. viii. 1-14.
9. List of those who put away their wives taken from foreign nations, x. 18-43.
10. List of those who signed the Covenant, Neh. x. 1-27.
11. List of the inhabitants after the walls had been set up, xi. 3-36.
12. List of the Priests and Levites in the city, xii. 1-26.

The sudden changes from the third to the first person, and *vice versa*, should be noted; thus we have the first person used in Esdras v. 4, quite unexpectedly, nor is it persisted in. This portion, be it noted, is referred to the time of Darius.

vii. 27–ix. 15, Esdras' narrative of his arrival, in the first person throughout.

Neh. i-vii. 5, the narrative of his arrival in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, all is given in the first person.

x. 30-38, the Covenant reads as though it were given by one who took part in it; and note that while Nehemias' name is given, x. 1, among the signatories, Esdras' name, in spite of xii. 1, 26, 35, is wanting; it is conceivable, then, that he omitted his own name since it was he who wrote the account.

xii. 27-41, the account of the dedication of the walls is undoubtedly by Nehemias himself, and is given in the first person.

xiii. 1-31, is also in the first person, and by Nehemias himself.

Thus we are in the presence of numerous personal documents and also of official statements to which the

compiler had access. And this compiler can hardly have been either Esdras or Nehemias, for in Neh. xii. 26, we read that the Levites there mentioned 'were in the days of Joachim the son of Josue the son of Josedec, and in the days of Nehemias the governor, and of Esdras the priest and scribe'; it looks as though these latter are referred to as already dead some time; cf. xii. 46, for a similar remark. Again, in Neh. xii. 10-22, we seem to have a chronology drawn up according to the succession of High Priests, viz. Eliasib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, but this latter was, we know, High Priest in the days of Alexander the Great, i.e. c. 332 B.C. Another sign of the date at which the compiler lived occurs in the distinction between 'King Darius,' Esdras v. 5-7, vi. 1, 12-15; and 'Darius the Persian,' Esdras iv. 5, 24, and Neh. xii. 22; a comparison of these passages will show that while the compiler always speaks of 'Darius the Persian,' the original documents of the time of Darius the Great (Hystaspis, 520-485), always, and naturally, speak of him simply as 'Darius' or as 'Darius the King.' These features, combined with the sudden changes from the first to the third person and *vice versa*, combined also with the fact that certain passages are given in Chaldaic, viz. Esdras iv. 8 to vi. 18; vii. 12-26, with the fact, too, that the period between 516 and 458 is passed over in silence, all suggest a compiler who had at his disposal many original documents, the actual memoirs of Esdras and Nehemias and the Chaldaic letters written to and received from the kings of Persia, as well as the early catalogues drawn up at Jerusalem. These he has welded together faithfully, and his inspiration consisted in the light vouchsafed him to do this correctly.

POINTS OF INTEREST. We can only indicate a few of the points which the student should notice in reading Esdras-Nehemias.

(a) The *Nathinites*, Esdras ii. 43-54, viii. 20, Neh. iii. 26, vii. 73, x. 39, xi. 21, are of peculiar interest; they are only mentioned elsewhere in I. Paral. ix. 2; in Esdras viii. 20, they seem to be identified with 'the servants of Solomon'; they lived on Ophel; they had certain privileges in common with the Priests and Levites, Esdras vii. 24; but they seem to have been

hewers of wood and drawers of water, and thus correspond to the Gibeonites. In Neh. x., they are not tithed, nor are any of them mentioned as having strange wives, presumably because the themselves belonged to a strange nation.

(b) The title '*Tirsatha*' has been corrupted in the LXX. and Vulgate, and consequently in the Douay version, into Athersatha as though it were a proper name, but the *A* is only the article, and the word means 'the Governor.'

(c) In Esdras iv. 2, 10, we find mention of Esarhaddon the king of Assyria, 681-668, and of Asenaphar who is almost certainly the successor of the preceding, namely Assurbanipal, 668-626. These names are interesting as showing us how incomplete are the records in Kings, their silence does not mean ignorance.

TOBIAS.

This book is fittingly described as a perfect idyll. It gives us the story of Tobias, one of the captives carried away by Salmanasar; Tobias is faithful to the Law and is rewarded, though by God's permission he is sorely tried at first. Into the main story is woven that of Sara, a kinswoman of Tobias; she also is sorely afflicted, but triumphs by the power of prayer.

Contents and Divisions.

A. I-III. The virtues of Tobias and Sara; their afflictions; their prayers are heard in heaven.

B. IV-XII. The angel Raphael is sent from heaven to deliver them both from their afflictions.

C. XIII-XIV. The epilogue.

A more minute analysis is hardly necessary as the student can easily make it for himself.

THE TEXT. St. Jerome writes to the Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus who had urged him to translate the book: "I can hardly refrain from wondering at your insistent demands; for you actually beg me to translate into Latin a book written in Chaldaic; even the book of Tobias which the Hebrews decline to place

in the catalogue of the Holy Scriptures, but class among the Apocrypha. I have done enough to satisfy your wishes, but not enough to satisfy my own studies. For the studies of the Hebrews reprove us and charge us with adapting to Latin ears a book which is contrary to their Canon. Yet thinking it better to displease the Pharisees and to obey Bishops, I have done as I best could. Since, then, the Chaldean speech is allied to the Hebrew, I found some one who spoke both languages readily, and, snatching a day's work, what he said to me in Hebrew that I rendered into Latin to a notary whom I employed."

The Vulgate Latin is, then, the result of this 'day's work,' and is a rendering of a Chaldaic original. There exists also the Old Latin version and at least three distinct Greek versions which differ among themselves considerably. There are also four Hebrew versions known, and one Aramaic or Chaldaic version. Scholars have long disputed which of these texts more nearly represents the original, but until the discovery in 1896 of a Hebrew MS. of the third Hebrew text, we had none which at all corresponded to the Vulgate of St. Jerome, and even in this there are divergences which make it probable that it does not represent the text from which St. Jerome translated—he says indeed that he used a Chaldaic and not a Hebrew original.

It will be of interest to point out some of the more startling divergences between the Greek MSS. and the Vulgate. The Greek text always speaks of Tobit, St. Jerome of Tobias.

Vulgate.	*Greek MSS.*
i. 14, Tobias has leave to go where he pleases.	He is the purveyor to the king.
i. 19, he flees with his wife and child.	He flees alone.
ii. 10, a swallow makes him blind.	Sparrows.
ii. 12-18, the example of Job.	Omitted.
iii. 10, Sara fasts.	She wishes to strangle herself.
iii. 19-24, Sara's prayer.	Much omitted.

Vulgate.	*Greek MSS.*
vi. 16-18, 20-21, the teaching regarding chastity.	Omitted.
viii. 4-5, the same.	Omitted.
ix. 6, four servants.	Only one.
ix. 8-12, the feast in the house of Raguel.	Omitted or much changed.

St. Jerome, too, calls Raguel's wife, Anna, vii. 2, but in all the MSS. she is called Edna. In xi. 20, we are suddenly introduced to Achior and Nabath, but in the Greek, ii. 11, we have already made the acquaintance of the former, Tobias says: "And I went to physicians and they availed me not, but Achior took care of me till I went to Elymais." Moreover, in the Vulgate and the Chaldaic version the whole story is in the third person, but in the other versions from i-iii. 6, is in the first person. In xii. 20, the Old Latin, the Greek, and at least two of the Hebrew texts, have the angel's command: "Do you write all that has come to pass in a book"; and in xiii. 1, "And Tobit wrote a prayer for rejoicing."

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK. It is commonly supposed that the book was written during the Captivity, i.e., in the seventh century B.C., but there are certain features which make it hard to accept this early date. Thus Salmanasar is named as the king who removed Nephtali into captivity, in the Greek texts Ennemesar; but in IV. Kgs. xv. 29, Tiglath-Pileser III. is given; it is of course possible that there were two deportations of Nephtali. Again, Sennacherib is called, i. 18, the son of Salmanasar, whereas he was the son of Sargon; further it seems to be implied that Tobias was actually a boy when, in 975 B.C., Jeroboam I. set up the calves in Bethel, i. 4-6. There are many similar difficulties when the other versions are taken into account; e.g. vi. 6, in the Greek, implies that the Tigris was between Ninive and Ecbatana. It would seem then probable that we have in the Book of Tobias the work of a Jew who wrote at a time when the details of Assyrian history and geography were not known; the writer gives names and places 'according to the opinion of the time,'

as St. Jerome would say. This view is confirmed when we examine the theological and moral teaching of the book. It accords with that in Judith, Esther, and Ecclesiasticus. Thus note the insistence upon fasting, almsdeeds, tithes, prohibited meats, continence, the burial of the dead, etc., and compare such passages as Ecclus. vii. 34-36, xxix. 12-13, xxxviii. 16-24, xl. 24, etc. In the Vulgate we should notice, too, the reference to proselytes, i. 7, and in the Greek the apparent reference to the difference between the Temple of Solomon and that of Zorobabel, xiv. 5, cf. Esdras iii. 12. In ii. 6, both in the Greek texts and in the Vulgate, Amos is quoted by name; it may be doubted whether such a quotation is likely in the seventh century. In xiv. 6, one Greek text has 'as Jonas the Prophet said,' another has 'as Nahum said'; are such references probable at an early date? And Nahum did not prophesy before 668 B.C.

CANONICITY. In spite of St. Jerome's theoretical view that no book was canonical unless it were written in Hebrew, the book of Tobias has always found a place in the Church. We find it quoted in the Didake or 'Teaching of the Apostles,' cf. Did. i. 2, and Tob. iv. 16; cf. also Did. iv. 6-8, and Tob. iv. 11 and ff. St. Polycarp uses it, Clement of Alexandria speaks of it as 'Scripture,' Origen and St. Athanasius defend it, and St. Cyprian uses it in his treatise on Prayer. Lastly, it is given in all the official Church lists.

JUDITH.

This book tells the story of a Jewish heroine who, imitating Jael, saved Israel by cutting off the head of Holofernes, the general of Nabuchodonosor, when he was besieging Bethulia, a city of the Samaritan hills, overlooking the plain of Esdraelon.

Contents.

I-VII. Nabuchodonosor's assault on the Jews.

i-iii. Having conquered the Medes in his twelfth year, Nabuchodonosor sends Holofernes to subdue the peoples of the west who had refused to submit to him.

iv-vii. The Jews resist him, and he lays siege to Bethulia in spite of the warnings of Achior, captain of the children of Ammon; the dire straits of the besieged impel them to discuss the advisability of coming to terms.

VIII-XV. 8. The story of Judith who protests against any such submission.

viii-ix. Her preparations for repelling the invader.

x-xv. 8. Her heroic deed.

XV. 9-XVI. The epilogue to the story.

THE TEXT. No early Hebrew text exists. St. Jerome, to whom we owe the Latin translation in the Vulgate, says: "By the Hebrews the Book of Judith is counted among the Apocrypha.....yet it is written in Chaldaic and accounted among the historical books. But since we read that the Synod of Nicaea numbered this Book among the Holy Scriptures, I have yielded to your request or rather demand, and, laying aside my pressing occupations, I have devoted to it one night's sitting and translated it, not so much word for word as sense for sense. I have removed (amputavi) the disgraceful discrepancies to which the MSS. bear witness, and I have only expressed in Latin those things which a sound understanding could discover in the Chaldaic. Receive, then, Judith the widow, an example of chastity, and sing her praises in triumphal song for ever. For God set her as an example not to women only but to men; He Who was the Rewarder of her chastity gave her power to conquer the unconquered of men and to overcome him whom none had overcome."

The Vulgate Latin translation is, then, made from the Chaldaic, and, as St. Jerome freely confesses, it is freely made. This is borne out by examination, we have only to compare vi. 11, and viii. 9, with the Greek.

The Greek text exists in at least two distinct forms; one, that in the Codices A, B, and Aleph, and another in the cursive MS. 59, which agrees with the Old Latin and Syriac texts. And these Greek texts differ extraordinarily from the Latin, we need only instance the geographical details in ch. ii., and the resumé of the

history of the Hebrews given by Achior in ch. v.; the geography in the Latin is frankly impossible, in the Greek it is better. But it should be noted that though the general geography is confused, that of the Samaritan hills is clear and precise; the author must have been intimately familiar with the neighbourhood.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK. In i. 5, Nabuchodonosor is called 'King of the Assyrians,' and is said to reign in Ninive. Ninive was destroyed in 606 B.C., and Nabuchodonosor came to the throne of Babylon in 605; still it might be said that he was king in Ninive since his father's forces had destroyed it. When, however, we find his general enjoying the Greek name of Holofernes, iii. 2, and when we find that the story is placed after the Restoration of the Jews in 536 B.C., v. 22-23, i.e. some twenty years after the death of Nabuchodonosor, we feel that we are either in the presence of names which are purely symbolical, or that the text has been corrupted as St. Jerome has told us. That the names may be only symbolical is not improbable, Bethulia means 'the virgin of the Lord,' and Judith is simply 'the Jewess'; St. Peter did not scruple to speak of Rome under the symbolical name of Babylon, I. Peter, v. 13. But the fact, if it be a fact, that the names are symbolical, will not preclude us from accepting the book as containing a true history. The only difficulty will be to know at what precise point in Hebrew History we are to place it. Those who accept even the names as historical endeavour to find a period in Hebrew history when there was no king, and when the Assyrians were a great power. And it is natural to see in the story of Manasses' captivity during the reign of Assurbanipal, 668-626 B.C., a period when there was no king in Israel. But it is impossible to reconcile with this view all the statements in the book; thus Achior expressly states, v. 22-23, that the Hebrews had recently returned from captivity and 'now possess Jerusalem again'; with this well accords Judith's statement, viii. 18-19, that there is now no idolatry in Israel. Hence it is far better to place the history in the post-Exilic period. Thus we note that the High Priest Eliachim, iv. 5, is called Joachim xv. 9 (and always in the

Greek text); but the only Joachim among the High Priests was a son of Josue and a contemporary of Zorobabel, cf. Neh. xii. 10. At the same time it is not easy to assign any definite post-Exilic period for the story. There exist several Hebrew versions of the story, none of them, however, belonging to an early date as far as can be ascertained; in these, Jerusalem, not Bethulia, is the city attacked, and Nicanor, I. Macc. vii., is the general slain by Judith. In consequence, many have attempted to see in the story a veiled account of the Maccabean wars. But Sulpicius Severus long ago suggested, *Chron.* ii. 14-16, that Judith lived under Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), 358-338 B.C., and not under Nabuchodonosor or Cambyses. Ochus certainly made an expedition against Phoenicia and Egypt about 350 B.C., and one of his generals was called Holofernes, and his eunuch was called Bagoas as in Judith xii. 10.

THEOLOGY AND MORALS OF THE BOOK. The lesson of the book is that of the power of prayer, cf. iv. 11-17, vi. 14, 16, 21, etc. Zeal for the temple is prominent, iv. 2, ix. 11, etc., though this is much more clearly brought out in the Greek text. The author is familiar with the Psalter, cf. ix. 16, xvi. 17-18. In the account of Judith's preparations, x. 5, in the account of her daily life, viii. 6, of her behaviour in the camp of Holofernes, xii. 2, 7-9, etc., we seem to have an echo of the teachings of the Pharisees which developed later into the extravagance which Our Lord found it necessary to reprove. God's providential care is beautifully insisted on, viii. 11-27, ix. 5; He is the only God and Creator of all, ix. 17-19. In xiv. 6, Achior becomes a proselyte. Judith undoubtedly lied to Holofernes, and this is more explicitly told in the Greek text, but we are not to judge of these things according to the ideas of our times, and because a thing is narrated in Scripture it does not follow that it is altogether praiseworthy.

CANONICITY. St. Jerome, see above, refers to a declaration on the part of the Council of Nice that the Book of Judith was canonical. No trace of this enactment is to be found, and it may be that he is only

referring to the use the Fathers of that Council may have made of the Book in their discussions. It is quoted by St. Clement, I. Cor. lv., with *Esther;* Origen defends it in his Epistle to Africanus; Tertullian uses it, and it is found in all the official Ecclesiastical lists. In I. Cor. x. 10, we have an apparent quotation of Judith viii. 25, in the Vulgate text, not in the Greek.

ESTHER.

This heroic woman's name was originally Edissa, ii. 7, in the Vulgate and the Hebrew text. She was of the tribe of Benjamin, and her uncle, Mardochai, had been carried off by Nabuchodonosor into Babylon at the time that Jechonias had been taken into captivity, ii. 5-6, cf. IV. Kgs. xxiv. 10-16, 598 B.C. According to the story, the scene is laid in the Persian court of Ahasuerus, i.e. Xerxes I., 485-465 B.C., so that had Mardochai been only one year old when carried into captivity, he would have been 113 years old at the time of Xerxes' accession. Vashti, the Queen of Xerxes, had refused to present herself at a royal banquet, and was in consequence dismissed from her position. Esther is chosen to fill it, and is thus enabled to ward off from the Jews a terrible danger which threatened them from their implacable enemy, Aman. This latter had determined on a wholesale destruction of the Jews throughout the Persian dominions, and had by lot (*pur*) decided on the 13th Adar as the day for carrying out his design. The tables were turned upon him, however, and the Jews rose up and slew their enemies. Hence was established the feast of Purim or 'Lots' to commemorate the event. The book is thus intended to afford an historical explanation of this Feast.

THE TEXT. The book exists in Hebrew and Greek. But the latter has many passages not to be found in the present Hebrew text. These Greek additions were gathered together by St. Jerome and placed at the end of the book in his Vulgate and they are so found in the Douay version. Yet they are necessary for the understanding of the story, and should be inserted into the body of the text in the following order:

Greek. xi. 2–xii. 6, Mardochai's dream; he detects a plot on the part of Bagatha and Thara, the porters of the palace, to slay the king; his action is recorded and he is honoured for what he has done.

Hebrew. i-iii. 13, the story of Vashti's disobedience; Esther is advanced in her place; Mardochai detects another (?) plot on the part of two eunuchs who are annoyed at his advancement (in the *Cod. Vaticanus*, B, no names are given and the reason for their plot is stated as above). Aman is advanced by the king, but finding that Mardochai refuses to honour him he determines to destroy the whole Jewish nation.

Greek. xiii. 1-7, the text of the Decree which Aman obtains from the king for the destruction of the Jews.

Hebrew. iii. 14–iv. 8, the couriers are sent out with the decree; the grief of the Jews.

Greek. xv. 2-3, Mardochai's words to Esther urging her to defend her people.

Hebrew. iv. 9-17, Esther's fast.

Greek. xiii. 8-18, Mardochai's prayer.

Greek. xiv. 1-19, Esther's prayer.

Greek. xv. 4-19, Esther's visit to the king.

Hebrew v. 3-viii. 12 (v. 1-2 is omitted in the Greek which thus unifies the visits of Esther); she invites the king to a banquet with Aman; Mardochai is honoured at last for the discovery of the plot (cf. ii. 21-23, and cf. xii. 5); Aman is hanged, Mardochai is advanced to his place, the edicts procured by Aman against the Jews are reversed.

Greek. xvi. 1-24, text of the reversed decree.

Hebrew. viii. 13–x. 4, the reversed decree is sent out; the subsequent slaughter of the Gentiles; the establishment of the feast of Purim; finale, the growing glory of Xerxes and of Mardochai.

Greek. x. 4-13, the epilogue; Mardochai realises that the previously narrated events are but the fulfilment of his dream.

Greek. xi. 1, the subscription saying that in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra this epistle of Phurim was brought to Egypt.

HISTORICITY. Few books of the Bible present a more complicated problem than that of Esther. But in judging of its character we must bear in mind that it exists in at least three distinct texts. For in addition to the Hebrew text, we have two widely differing Greek texts and, as pointed out, the Greek is considerably longer than the Hebrew. The main difficulty regards the identity of Ahasuerus, the name as it stands in the Hebrew text undoubtedly represents Xerxes, but it does not follow that it was Xerxes who was originally meant. We have already pointed out one chronological difficulty, viz., the improbable age of Mardochai at the time of the events recorded. And that there was always some doubt regarding the identity of Ahasuerus is clear from the fact that in the Greek text he is always called Artaxerxes. Further, while the names of Mardochai and Esther are Babylonian, thus according with the statement about Nabuchodonosor, ii. 6, the picture as a whole is Persian and the author betrays a remarkable knowledge of Persian customs. Again, it cannot be denied that the names are often symbolical, thus *Mardochai* means 'the beloved of Marduk or Merodach,' *Esther* is 'Istar'; it is remarkable, too, that Aman should be called 'of the race of Agag,' iii. 1, 10, viii. 3, ix. 24, cf. I. Sam. xv. 32; in the Greek additions he is termed a 'Bugite,' xii. 6, and again a 'Macedonian,' xvi. 10, 14. Thus it would appear that Aman stands for some symbolical enemy of Israel in the Hebrew text, while in the Greek he stands for the Macedonian Alexander the Great, the enemy of the Persian Empire. But, after all, the names are of small importance, they may have been changed, the text may have been corrupted etc., but the facts still remain. And nothing has ever been brought forward to prove the impossibility of the facts stated in Esther. The book was intended to explain the origin of the feast of Purim, and it is an historical fact that this feast was a most ancient one.

CANONICITY. Josephus, *c. Apion*, ii. 8, evidently reckons Esther amongst the twenty two Canonical Books; in *Ant.* XI. vi., he uses indifferently the Hebrew text and the Greek additions; thus we note that (12) he calls Aman an 'Amalecite.' Similarly, the

king, for Josephus, is always Artaxerxes, not Xerxes. In II. Macc. xv. 37, the 13th Adar is called 'the day before Mardochai's day.' Later there arose doubts among the Jews regarding the canonicity of Esther because of its secular tone, for the Name of God is not once mentioned in the Hebrew text though frequent in the Greek additions. Some of the Fathers, too, doubted the canonicity of Esther, e.g. St. Athanasius and St. Gregory of Nanzianzen; but Origen in his *Letter to Africanus* defends the canonicity of the Greek additions, and St. Clement of Rome, I. Cor. lv., uses them without qualification. St. Augustine regarded it as canonical, and St. Jerome, while setting on one side the Greek additions as not occurring in the Hebrew, yet makes no disparaging remarks regarding them; according to his principles, however, he must have considered them as extra-canonical. The book has always figured in the official catalogues of the Church, and the Greek portions must be held to be included in the expression of the Council of Trent: 'the entire Books with *all their parts*.'

THE DATE. In the subscription, xi. 1, the book is said to have been translated by one Lysimachus, at Jerusalem, and to have been brought into Egypt in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra; but as there were four Ptolemies who had wives called Cleopatra, it is impossible to learn the date of its translation or its appearance in Egypt from this statement; the earliest of these Ptolemies was Ptolemy V., B.C. 205-182. In ix. 20, we read of Mardochai that he himself wrote the letters, hence it is not impossible that we have contemporary documents employed; but the whole tone of ix. 20-32, is against the idea that Mardochai wrote the book as we now have it in Hebrew.

THE THEOLOGICAL AND MORAL TONE OF THE BOOK. As already remarked, in the Hebrew text the name of God is absent, and were it not for the practice of fasting, iv. 16, and the reference to a Providential choice of Esther, iv. 14, we should have to class the book as frankly pagan. Possibly this is to be explained by the presence of the Jews in a heathen land where all expression of their religion was denied them, and where

they had gradually absorbed the current ways of thinking; we find the same feature in the First Book of Maccabees. The greatest difficulty, to the modern mind, lies in the massacres of ch. ix., see especially Esther's request, v. 12-15, where she asks to have an extra day of slaughter allowed to the Jews. But we must judge of these things according to the ideas of the times, and it must be remembered that the Jews had received gross provocation from the cruel vindictiveness of Aman.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SAPIENTIAL AND POETICAL BOOKS

JOB.

The *Book of Job* is arranged as a drama, and the various stages in its developement may be presented as follows:

A. I-II. *The Prologue.* Job's prosperity; Satan obtains from God power to touch first his substance and then his person.

B. III-XXXI. *The dialogue between Job and his three friends.*

a. iii-xiv. *The First Scene.*

iii. Job curses the day of his birth; his three friends, each in turn, insinuate that he *must* have sinned, else God could not so afflict him.

iv-v. *Eliphaz* rebukes him for his want of patience, iv. 6, urges that he must have sinned, and, v. 17, bids him confess.

vi-vii. Job answers Eliphaz; vi. 11, he has not lost patience; vi. 25, 30, he maintains his innocence.

viii. *Baldad* takes up the thread; Job *must* have sinned, viii. 6.

ix-x. Job answers Baldad; no man is justified before God, ix. 2, cf. xiv. 16; he insists on this, ix. 20; but he confesses that he is puzzled, x. 2, 14.

xi. *Sophar* takes up the charge, and, in explicit terms, accuses Job of sin; xi. 4, Job has insisted on his innocence, yet Baldad hopes that God will convince Job of sin, xi. 5-6.

xii-xiv. Job answers Baldad; his friends mock him, xii. 4; they lie, xiii. 4; but his trust is absolute, xiii. 15; he reiterates his innocence, xiii. 18.

b. xv-xxi. *The Second Scene.* The three friends return to the charge and, each in turn, insist in yet stronger terms that Job has sinned.

xv. Eliphaz declares that he is wicked and blasphemous, xv. 5; he paints in awful colours the fate of the wicked.

xvi-xvii. Job is content to reiterate his innocence, xvi. 18, xvii. 2.

xviii. Baldad angrily insists that Job is a wicked man; he again, in vivid colours, paints the lot of the wicked.

xix. Job once more replies that he is innocent, xix. 6; he complains of his friends' treatment of him, xix. 21; he makes an explicit declaration of his faith in the existence of his Redeemer, and in his own future Resurrection, xix. 25-29.

xx. Sophar accuses Job of pride, and he too insists on the awful fate which awaits the wicked.

xxi. Job retorts that if their doctrine is true they must further explain why the wicked are not, as a matter of fact, punished in this world, rather they prosper.

c. xxii-xxxi. *The Third Scene.* Definite charges are now brought against Job.

xxii. Eliphaz brings four accusations against him, xxii. 5-9; he urges him to submit, xxii. 21.

xxiii-xxiv. Job repeats that he is innocent, and demands to be tried before God's tribunal, xxiii. 3-7; he asserts that the wicked will be ultimately punished, xxiii. 8–xxiv. 25.

xxv. Baldad briefly declares himself mystified; he repeats Job's assertion that no man is justified in the sight of God. Sophar attempts no reply.

xxvi-xxxi. Job's final answer.

xxvi. God has no need of such pleaders of His cause as these three friends.

xxvii. Job again asserts his innocence and dwells upon the fate of the wicked.

xxviii. Men search after the precious metals, but who searches after true wisdom?

xxix-xxx. He contrasts his present state with his former affluence and high position; God has changed in his regard, xxx. 21.

xxxi. He describes in dignified terms the virtues of his past life.

C. XXXII-XXXVII. A new speaker now appears upon the scene. *Eliu* has been a silent listener to the dispute, but can now contain himself no longer. He argues that Job is wrong in failing to recognise that God's punishments may often be rather *medicinal* than *vindictive*, they may be meant as a timely reminder to a man that he is in God's hand.

xxxii. 2. Eliu is angry with Job because he had said he was just; he is angry with the three friends because they had given no reasonable answer but had only condemned.

xxxiii. 12-13. Job is wrong in complaining that God has not answered him.

xxxiii. 14-30. Sufferings are God's *medicine* for our souls, cf. xxxvi. 9-10.

xxxiv. 9, 37. Job has blamed God.

xxxv. 3-7. He has demanded an answer.

The dramatic character of the whole is strikingly brought out in xxxvi. 27–xxxvii. 24, where the first mutterings of the storm are heard, cf. Ps. xxviii.

D. XXXVIII-XLII. 6. *God speaks out of the storm.* No attention is paid to what Eliu has said, and indeed xxxviii. 1, takes up the thread of xxxi. 35, where Job craves that the Almighty may hear him.

xxxviii. What is Job in comparison with his Creator? Beginning with the inanimate creation, xxxviii. 4-38, the power of God and the nothingness of man are wonderfully depicted. Next, the animal creation is presented; the lion, the wild goat, the wild ass, the wild ox, the ostrich, the horse, the hawk, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile, xxxviii. 39–xli. 25. In these passages we have the most wonderfully vivid descriptions of the various animals, and some of these descriptions, notably that of the horse, have become classical.

xlii. 1-6. Job repents 'in dust and ashes.'

E. XLII 7-16. *The Epilogue.* The three friends are sternly rebuked by God; the latter days of Job are more prosperous than those preceding his trials.

THE OBJECT OF THE BOOK may be gauged by the foregoing sketch of its contents. The same problem seems to be proposed as in Pss. xxxvi. and lxxii., and in Jer. xii., viz. What is the cause of the afflictions which beset the just man?

Job's friends regard all suffering as *punishment* for sin, and in consequence they look upon God solely as the Judge. Eliu, looking upon God rather as a Father, considers that the sufferings which afflict the just man are God's mercies, they are His *medicines* so to speak, admonitions which humble a man and so keep him from sin. The Prologue, on the other hand, clearly views the just man's sufferings as *probative*, they are destined to show forth his virtue and his patience to a wondering world. And this view is tacitly endorsed in the Epilogue. At the same time, three subsidiary lessons are inculcated: (a) when the just man is afflicted we are not to see in his sufferings the punishment of sin, cf. St. John ix. 1-3; (b) it is foolish for the sufferer to call God in question, and this seems

to have been Job's mistake, cf. iii. and xxxix. 22; (c) God will finally have mercy, and it is here that Job so signally triumphs; he is downcast and puzzled but he never for an instant loses faith.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK. Three main views have been held: (a) the whole is strictly historical, some of the Rabbis appear to have held this; (b) there is nothing historical about it, it is the creation of a poetical mind and simply intended to point a moral, so Theodore of Mopsuestia, d. 428, he regarded the book as pure fiction, and thought it was modelled upon some of the Greek dramas; (c) the more probable view is that the story has a historical foundation in the sense that Job actually existed, cf. Ezech. xiv. 14, 20, Tob. ii. 12, 15; St. Jas. v. 11., but that the treatment is not historical; thus note (a) the artificial character of the Prologue, (b) the way in which God is introduced as disputing with Job; (c) the dramatic introduction of the storm; (d) the symbolic numbers in the Prologue, Epilogue, and the 'three' friends; (e) the ideal nature of the calamities; (f) the artificial and highly-wrought dialogues. At the same time, that the main features are historical may be argued from the definite mention of the land of Hus, cf. Gen. xxii. 21, xxxvi. 28, Lam. iv. 21. The attempt has been made to identify Job with the Jobab who reigned in Edom, Gen. xxxvi. 33-34, I. Paral. i. 44-45; but this is due to the LXX. addition, from the Syriac, to the closing chapter of Job, it is apparently nothing more than a guess.

THE DATE OF THE BOOK. The Hebrew of the book is exceedingly difficult, and often very archaic in form; hence, in default of any evidence to the contrary, it is legitimate to argue an early date for the composition. The arguments from internal evidence are precarious; critics who hold that the Pentateuch is in the main a post-Exilic work and that Deuteronomy only dates from about 621 B.C., urge that the similarities between Job and Deut. xxviii., make for the late date of the former. It is also urged that the minute and thorough discussion of so complex a moral problem demands a long previous history. Striking

parallels can be shown between Job and the Psalter, the Book of Proverbs and the Prophecies of Jeremias, but it is next to impossible to say with which lies the priority. Whoever the author was, and at whatever time he lived, he must have been well acquainted with the desert, thus note the similes drawn from the desert-life and the vivid pictures of desert-scenery; vi. 5, iv. 10-11, vi. 15, vii. 2, viii. 10-11, ix. 26, etc. Note, too, the description of the Bedouin tribes, xxiv. 2-13, xxx. 1-8; the picture of patriarchal life, xxix.; the living pictures of the desert animals, xxviii. 39–xlii. 5; the description of the working of the mines, xxviii. 1-11; the whirlwind, iii. 6, ix. 17, xxxviii. 1. At the same time the author knows of agriculture, v. 5, 26, vi. 5, xxiv. 3-4; he is acquainted with life in cities, xxix. 7, xxiv. 12, xxxi. 21, xxxix. 7; and he has seen the 'ships of the sea,' ix. 26.

THE STYLE. The dramatic form of the book causes it to stand apart in the Bible, and, as we have no other example of the Hebrew dramatic style, the difficulty experienced in following the thought is very great. Add to this that the style is often involved, while the sudden changes of speaker, the interrogations and exclamations which abound, increase the difficulty. The Prologue and the Epilogue are in prose, but the body of the Book is in poetical form as Origen and St. Jerome remarked long ago. The latter, indeed, regards it as composed in hexameters and other metres. It is interesting to compare the style of Job's speeches with those put in the mouths of his friends; the latter are often intentionally turgid while the former, though impassioned, have a dignity about them which is very striking. The construction of the drama is peculiar. As already pointed out, the solution of the problem is plainly indicated at the outset in the Prologue and is only tacitly assumed in the Epilogue. But a great deal of difficulty is caused by the intrusion of Eliu; there are not wanting critics who hold that his speeches did not form part of the original book, but were inserted later. The reasons alleged are that (a) his name is not mentioned either in the Prologue or in the Epilogue. (b) Neither does Job reply to his charges. (c) The divine answer in xxxviii. completely disregards

Eliu and takes up the thread from xxxi. 35. (d) Unlike the 'friends' he addresses Job by name and even seems, xxxiii. 9-11, to quote his actual words as though he had *read* the book. On the other hand, it must be confessed that without Eliu's speeches the discussion would be very incomplete, for the notion that sufferings might be due to God's Fatherly desire to prevent a man from sinning would naturally occur to the framer of the drama. Moreover, Eliu's references to the storm which is rapidly coming up prepare the way for God's address from the whirlwind. And there would seem to be great dramatic skill in the omission of all reply to Eliu, for he was not wrong, his doctrine was sound. Lastly it should be noted that his speeches are couched in very obscure and very unusual Hebrew and are therefore, presumably, equally ancient with the rest of the Book.

St. Jerome translated the Book of Job twice, first from the LXX., adding those portions which were in the Hebrew, but omitted in the Greek; and later, directly from the Hebrew. In his *Preface* to the former translation he says: "Such is the force of custom that even errors confessed to be such please some folk; they would rather have their books beautiful than correct! Wherefore, my Paula and Eustochium, receive with joy Job entire and unspotted, after, among the Latins, lying so long on his dunghill befouled with the worms of error.....Wherever you see *obeli* in this my text know that the passage which follows is not in the Hebrew; and where you see *asterisks* know that what follows is added from the Hebrew." In his *Preface* to the later translation, direct from the Hebrew, he says: "If you take away the portions marked with *asterisks* you will cut away the larger part of the book —I am speaking only of the text the Greeks have. But as to that which the Latins have, previous to the publication of my recent translation, with *obeli* and *asterisks,* practically seven or eight hundred verses were wanting." He then gives a most interesting account of his method in translating: "This translation follows no one ancient interpreter, but you will find in it now the very words, now the sense, of either the Hebrew or the Arabic, or sometimes even of the Syriac. For even the Hebrews allow that there is an indirect-

ness and a slipperiness about the book. It is what the Greek Rhetoricians describe as: 'tricked out with figures of speech,' and while it says one thing it does another. To translate it is like trying to hold fast an eel or a lamprey, the tighter you grasp it the more it slips away. I remember that when I wanted to understand this book, I paid no trifling sum to a teacher from Lydda who was considered by the Hebrews to be one of the best. Whether I profited by his teaching I know not; one thing, however, I do know: I could not translate it till I understood it."

THE THEOLOGY. The problem discussed in the book necessarily involves much theological teaching. The old patriarchal name for God, El-Shaddai, or 'the Almighty,' frequently occurs, and there is a constant parallelism between this title and the name 'God,' cf. vi. 10, etc. Nowhere in the Bible have we such clear teaching regarding the divine attributes, ix. 1-15, x., xii., xxiii., xxvi. The underworld, hell or the grave, is spoken of again and again, vii. 9, x. 21-22, xiv. 13, xvii. 13, xxiv. 16, xxvi. 5-6, xxxviii. 17. The fate of the wicked is plainly set forth by Job, xxi., xxvii. 8-23, and still more plainly by his friends. Job expresses his belief in a judgement to come, xix. 29; and in xiv. 13-16, xvi. 22-23, hopes that his innocence will then be declared. And it should be noticed that, while most strenuously maintaining his innocence, Job never denies the innate sinfulness of man, cf. ix. 2, etc.; his doctrine is that sinful man has nothing to do but trust, and his own declarations of trustfulness are wonderful, xiii. 15, xvi. 18-23, xix. 25-27, xxiii. 3-4. The picture of the court of heaven with its angels, and the intrusion of Satan, i. 6, ii. 1, iv. 18, xv. 15, xxxviii. 7, should be compared with that in III. Kgs. xxii.

THE NATURAL HISTORY. We have already referred to the pictures of animal life which abound; it remains to note that the 'rhinoceros,' in xxxix. 9, etc., is more probably the wild-ox; the translation 'cock' in xxxviii. 36, is much disputed; some take it to be the human 'mind', so R.V., but in the margin 'meteor'; St. Jerome derived his translation presumably from his Hebrew teacher, for in the Rabinical treatises the

Hebrew word here used means 'a hen.' The Douay version is often obscure, and in some places needs emendation, cf. v. 7, xii. 5, xxxii. 21-22, xli. 23, xlii. 6, in D.V. and in R.V.

THE PSALTER.

In Hebrew 'Tehilim' or 'Praises'; this is but a generic title, and is only found in the title to Ps. cxliv. It would seem as though at one time the title 'Prayers' may have been in use, for the subscription to Ps. lxxi. runs 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended,' cf. *infra.*

The Psalter stands apart from all the other books of the Bible, both in contents and character. It has been compared in this respect to the 'Acts of the Apostles,' and with some reason; for just as 'Acts' marks the transition from the Gospels to the Epistles, so the Psalter stands as a link between the Law and the Historical Books on the one hand, and the Poetical and Prophetical Books on the other. But there are wide differences to be noted, for while 'Acts' shows the Gospel in action, the Psalter shows the Law in meditation; it is truly the hymnbook of Israel. In this sense it is the mirror of the religious sense of the people; for in the Law God spoke to His people, in the Psalter the Chosen People speaks to its God.

DIVISIONS. The Psalter is divided into five distinct 'books,' which are separated off from one another by a doxology; these Books are:

Bk. I. Pss. i-xl.
Bk. II. Pss. xli-lxxi.
Bk. III. Pss. lxxii-lxxxviii.
Bk. IV. Pss. lxxxix-cv.
Bk. V. Pss. cvi-cl.

THE NUMBERING OF THE PSALMS. In all versions, as well as in the Hebrew original, there are 150 psalms, but as some of them are not divided in the same way in the original as they are in the LXX. and Vulgate versions, the numbers attached to the individual psalms vary according as a particular version is made

from the Hebrew or from the Greek or Latin text. Considerable confusion hence arises; for the Anglican versions—being derived from the Hebrew—have followed the enumeration there used. The following table shows the variant numbers:

Hebrew, followed by the later *English* versions.		*LXX.*, followed by the *Vulgate, Catholic*, and *earlier English* versions.
I-VIII.	=	I-VIII.
IX. 1-21. X. 1-18. 'Ut quid Domine'	=	IX. 1-39
XI-CXIII.	=	X-CXII. 'In Domino confido'—'Laudate Pueri'
CXIV. 1-8. 'In exitu . . .' CXV. 1-18. 'Non nobis. . .'	=	CXIII. 1-26. 'In exitu . . .'
CXVI. 1-19.	=	CXIV. 'Dilexi . . .' CXV. 'Credidi . . .'
CXVII-CXLVI.	=	CXVI. 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes'—CXLV. 'Lauda anima mea Dominum.'
CXLVII.	=	CXLVI. 'Laudate Dominum quoniam'— CXLVII. 'Lauda Jerusalem Dominum.'
CXLVIII-CL.	=	CXLVIII-CL.

In other words, since the Hebrew text divides Ps. ix. into two parts, it follows that the Hebrew and Anglican numeration is always one ahead of the Latin Greek, and Douay versions. This holds good as far as Ps. cxiii., 'In exitu Israel'; here the Hebrew again divides the Psalm into two, so that at this point the Hebrew, and the versions derived directly from it, are two ahead of the Latin, Greek, and Douay versions.

Thus Ps. cxiv. (Heb.)	=	Ps. cxiii. 1-8.
cxv.	=	Ps. cxiii. 8-18.

But the old order is at once restored, for Ps. cxvi. combines the two Psalms 'Dilexi' and 'Credidi,' viz. cxiv. and cxv. of the Greek, Latin, and Douay versions, so that these latter are still one behind in the

numbering. This continues until we reach Ps. cxlvi. 'Laudate Dominum quoniam,' which in the Hebrew text is united with the next Ps. 'Lauda Jerusalem Dominum,' so that the number of 150 Psalms is ultimately arrived at in both cases.

It should be noted that in the Douay version, the title is counted as a verse, hence the numbering of the verses is different from that in the original and in the other versions.

FURTHER DIVISIONS. The division into books has been given above, it is of the greatest interest from the point of view of the formation of the Psalter, cf. *infra;* but for the understanding of the Psalms it is not of so much value as are some of the following groups:

(a) *Penitential Psalms.* This is a purely ecclesiastical division, i.e. it has no foundation in the Bible beyond the fact that these particular Psalms, viz. Pss. vi., xxxi., xxxvii., l., ci., cxxix., and cxlii. particularly lend themselves to seasons of penance since they express the feelings of a contrite soul; many other Psalms, e.g. vii., xi., xii., etc., might equally well be termed 'penitential.'

(b) *Imprecatory Psalms.* These Psalms, so often on the lips of our Puritan forefathers, are, to many, a stumbling-block in reading the Bible; Pss. xxxiv., li., liii-lviii., lxiii., lxvii., cviii., and cxxxvi. are generally counted as the 'cursing' psalms and they no doubt contain sentiments which are abhorrent to our more sensitive minds. But the truth is that these Psalms are essentially Jewish, they must be read in the light of the Old Law which begot them; when once we start trying to read 'the Law of Grace' into the Law of Moses we get into difficulties. The *Lex Talionis* was a reality for Israel as it was for Babylonia in the days of Hammurabi.

(c) *The Didactic Psalms.* This title is often given to those Psalms which contain a great deal of moral teaching, and which are not so much hymns as questionings of the soul; among them may be conveniently reckoned Pss. xxxvi., xlviii., xlix., lxxii. etc.

(d) *Historical Psalms.* In certain Psalms, e.g. in lxxvii., ciii-cvi., cxiii., cxxxiv., and cxxxv., we find his-

torical themes handled; this is done with the view of stirring up men to worship the God of Israel with renewed fervour.

(e) *Liturgical Psalms.* In some Psalms more than in others we seem to have the words of the Jewish liturgy, e.g. lxvi., civ., cxxxiii-cxxxv., cxlviii-cl.

(f) *Alphabetical or Acrostic Psalms.* Certain Psalms, viz. ix., xxiv., xxxiii., xxxvi., cx., cxi., cxviii. and cxliv., have an artificial formation which was doubtless intended to serve as an aid to the memory; in some each verse, in others each half verse, in another every two verses, in another every eight verses, begin with a consecutive letter of the alphabet. The same feature is observable in Lament. i-iv., in Prov. xxxi. 10-31, and in the Hebrew text of the last chapter of Ecclesiasticus, *q.v.*

MESSIANIC CHARACTER OF THE PSALTER. It is usual to speak of certain Psalms as being 'Messianic,' e.g. Pss. ii., viii., xliv., xv., xxi., xliv., lxxxviii., cix., cxxxi., etc.; this is of course true, but it is sometimes misleading, for in a very true sense the whole Psalter is Messianic. That the Hebrews so regarded it will be evident from a study of the quotations in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. i.; in proof of the Messianic character of Jesus, Psalms are there quoted which we should not have otherwise regarded as Messianic. It must not be forgotten that Israel was the Chosen People, and that their king was a Theocratic king—the vicegerent of God in a peculiar way. Thus Israel is 'the son of God,' Exod. iv. 22-23, Deut. xxxii. 6, Isaias lxiii. 16, Os. xi. 1; he is also 'the servant of Jehovah,' Isaias xli. 8, etc. And the Psalms are the expression of the people's sense of this glorious prerogative; it is precisely in the national hymn-book that we expect to find this feeling most clearly displayed. But more than this, what Israel in general was, that the Davidic king was in a special manner—he seemed to sum up in his own person what they were as a nation. Thus he is 'the Son of God,' II. Sam. vii. 14; Ps. ii. 7; lxxxviii. 20-38, etc. He is also termed 'the Servant of Jehovah,' II. Sam. vii. 5, and, in a marked way, he is the vicegerent of God, cf. Ps. ii. 6,

I. Paral. xxviii. 5, xxix. 23, II. Paral. ix. 8. And just as the nation was conscious of its prerogatives, so also was the Davidic king conscious of them, though he might at times forget their practical import, as did Achaz and others; cf. I. Paral. xxviii. 4-5.

But this prerogative was essentially not for the sake of the Hebrews themselves, they were chosen as the depositories of God's promises to the whole world: 'In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.' It would be idle to suppose that the Hebrews as a nation were not perfectly conscious of this, indeed we see the opposite clearly brought out again and again. e.g. 'All the ends of the earth shall remember, and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the kindreds of the Gentiles shall adore in his sight,' Ps. xxi. 28; cf. Rom. iii. and ix-xi. In the same way, too, we must concede to the Davidic king a sense of his own position in the Divine plan, St. Peter indeed claims this explicitly for David, Acts ii. 24-36; and in Ps. cxxxi. we have a clear commentary by David himself on the promises made to him in II. Sam. vii.

The Psalter, then, is the expression of these Messianic hopes. It is in no sense an historical book; it is a prayer-book, and as such is timeless. This explains the shadowy character of the 'king' who figures so frequently in its strains; and this, too, will show how futile it is to attempt to resolve the Psalter into a series of comments on different historical events. Perhaps it would be no exaggeration to say that hardly a single psalm can be dated with certainty; and this is because the allusions to contemporary or past events are so shadowy, for they are not referred to for their own sake but for the lesson they teach. While, however, we insist upon this Messianic character of the whole Psalter as embodying the hopes of Israel, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that certain Psalms are Messianic in a more striking way than others. Thus we have a whole series of what we may call the 'King' Psalms, e.g. ii., xvii., xix., xx., xliv., lxxi., lxxxviii., cix., cxxxi. It is worth noticing that in these psalms no individual king is mentioned, nor apparently even thought of; it is always the ideal king, the perfect ruler; and yet he is not put before us as an abstraction, he is a reality, he will one day rule;

neither is it merely as something desirable that his advent is spoken of, it is an assured certainty. It should be noted further that these Psalms cover the whole Psalter, and are, according to the titles, attributed to different authors, and, apparently, to different periods in Israel's history. If we try and determine more closely who is meant by this 'king,' we are baffled; in xix. and xx., for example, it can hardly be question of God, yet in xliv. and cix. it seems clear that the author passes beyond the shadowy king of whom he so often speaks, and addresses Him Whom the former, in some sense, typifies; only in this way can we explain such passages as 'thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever!' words which are addressed to the person who is the subject of the previous portion of the Psalm, and who has been spoken of from a purely human standpoint. The same must be said of Ps. cix., 'The Lord said to my Lord,' a psalm which has received, at least indirectly, a Divine commentary, cf. St. Luke xx. 40-44; its key-note, too, is contained in the words, 'Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech,' words which no Rationalistic explanations have ever been able to whittle away. In these expressions, then, and in many others, the Psalmist seems to pass from the type to the anti-type, from the Davidic king to David's KING.

This transition is still more marked when we turn to the Psalms numbered xcii., xciv-xcviii. In all these is portrayed the 'Coming of the King to *judge the world*'; it is nowhere made clear in O.T. that it is the same king who is here meant as in the preceding psalms; it was left for New Testament times and teaching to bring this truth into prominence and to show that the idealised 'Davidic' king, and 'the judge of the spirits of all flesh,' were one and the same.

THE PSALMS OF THE PASSION. In xxi., lv., lxviii., cviii., etc., the same shadowy personage who figures throughout the Psalter is presented to us as afflicted with the deepest suffering; and here once more, it is idle to attempt to find an historical occasion for each one of these Psalms, such attempts always have failed and always must fail. Similarly, it is idle to declare, as do many modern writers, that in the Psalms we

have the cry of the nation and not of the individual sufferer. A just view of the essentially typical character of the nation and of its king would save us from such speculations as these, they only serve to obscure passages of consummate beauty and which are already, by reason of their typical character, sufficiently hard to understand. That they received their highest fulfilment in the Person of Him Who took upon Himself 'the chastisement of our peace,' is evident from the way in which He Himself made use of these very Psalms in describing His sufferings; the Evangelists, too, argued in the same way, cf. St. John xix. 36-37, etc. These Psalms should be compared with Isaias lii-liii., and with those many passages of Jeremias which the Church in her liturgy has consecrated to the services of the Sacred Passion precisely because She has always seen in that Prophet a figure and a type of the Suffering Messias.

PSALMS OF 'THE SON OF MAN'. This title may well be given to certain Messianic Psalms which do not dwell upon the character of the Messias as King, nor as Judge, nor again, as the Expiator of the sins of the world, but rather upon His character as the true and undefaced Image of God, as The Unfallen Man in Whose Person alone was fulfilled the original Divine plan, 'let us make man to Our image and likeness, and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea,' etc. This last-named feature is prominent in Ps. viii.; man's ultimate redemption from the curse of death in Ps. xvi.; the complete self-surrender of the Messias in Ps. xl., etc.

THE TITLES OF THE PSALMS. The title of Ps. lx. (lix.) runs as follows: "*Unto the end for them that shall be changed, for the inscription of a title; to David himself, for doctrine. When he set fire to Mesopotamia of Syria and Sobal, and Joab returned and slew of Edom in the Vale of the Salt-pits, twelve thousand men.*" This is the longest and fullest title in the Psalter, and for this reason we have chosen it as best illustrating the nature of the titles in general. It is composed of at least six distinct parts: thus 'unto the end,' in Hebrew *lam-menatseach*, a term which

St. Jerome rendered 'victori,' or 'for the conqueror,' thus following Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, cf. the LXX. version of Hab. iii. 19; the LXX., however, rendered it by *eis to telos*, the Vulgate 'in finem,' whence our Douay rendering 'unto the end.' St. Jerome was undoubtedly right in principle, for the Aramaic root *natsach* certainly does mean 'to conquer'; but the same root in Hebrew rather means 'to preside' or 'superintend,' as we see in II. Paral. ii. 8, 18; xxxiv. 12, and Esdras iii. 8-9, where St. Jerome has in the two former instances rendered the word by 'praepositus,' in the latter more forcibly by 'ut urgent.' These facts justify us in rendering it in the Psalm-titles by 'for the chief cantor.' Thus the first part of the title is a *liturgical* one. The next portion is more difficult: 'for them that shall be changed' should probably be rendered 'the lilies of the testimony'; the same title, in part at least, occurs in Pss. xliv., lxviii., and lxxix. It is highly probable that it, as well as the mysterious 'for the hidden things of the son,' ix., 'for the morning protection' (better 'for the hind of the dawn'), xxi., 'destroy not,' lvi., lvii., lviii., and lxxiv., 'for Maeleth' lii.. 'for Maeleth. to answer,' lxxxvii., should all be understood as references to the 'air' to which the psalm in question was to be sung.

The third part is perhaps the most obscure of all; 'for the inscription of a title,' in Hebrew *miktam*, in LXX. and Theodotion *eis stelographian*. None of these renderings are too clear; the Targums have 'a most excellent inscription'; St. Jerome, following Aquila and Symmachus, writes 'David humble and simple'—the most astounding rendering of all!

The most important part now follows, viz. the words 'for David himself.' The question is whether the Hebrew preposition *le* means authorship. It clearly does so in Hab. iii. 1, and presumably we should have no difficulty in conceding that in the Psalter it meant authorship but for one insurmountable difficulty, viz. that it is used also in the titles of those Psalms which are called 'for the sons of Core,' i.e. xli-xlviii., lxxxiii-iv., lxxxvi-vii. The difficulty at once arises: how can a body of men be described as 'author' of any one psalm? Hence it is far more probable that in this

portion of the title we are to see a reference, not so much to the author, as to the collection from which the psalm in question was taken, or to which it was to be assigned. We shall return to this point later on.

The next clause is 'for doctrine,' i.e. 'for *teaching*' or 'for *learning*'; we should probably see in this expression a reference to the custom of committing poetical pieces to memory, a practice of which we have two notable examples in the case of Moses' Canticle, Deut. xxxi., *cf.* particularly verse 19; and in the 'Song of David' over Saul and Jonathan in II. Sam. i. 19. There then follows the historical allusion to David's campaigns in Edom and in Syria; it is by no means easy to identify these precisely but we may safely see in them a general allusion to II. Sam. viii. 5-14; x. 15-19; and III. Kgs. xi. 15.

But though this individual title is a long one, it does not include all the terms which enter into the Psalm-titles. It will enable us, however, to group the various constituents of the titles as follows:

Liturgical titles. We have already referred to the use of the term 'for the chief cantor,' and also to the rubric 'for doctrine.' There remain, however, a number of titles which are probably vestiges of rubrics; (1) In the Hebrew text only Ps. xcii. is directed to be sung on a particular day of the week, viz. the Sabbath; but in the LXX. version of the titles, Ps. xxiii. is set aside for the first day, Ps. xlvii. for the second, Ps. xciii. for the fourth, and in the Old Latin Ps. lxxx. for the 'day before the Sabbath.' The same arrangement is to be found in the Talmudic treatise *Tamid*. (2) in Pss. xxxvii. and lxix. we find the expression 'for a remembrance,' *lehazkir;* it is probable that we have here a reference to the 'memorial' sacrifices which are alluded to in Lev. ii. 2, xxiv. 7, Nbs. xvi. 46, and I. Paral. xvi. 4. (3) The title of Ps. xcix. is 'a psalm of praise,' *thodu*, this title is more significant than might appear at first sight, it is really a summary of the 'Confitemini' psalms as they are called, viz. civ., cv., cvi., cxvii., cxxxv.; *cp.* lv. 11-12. (4) Ps. xxix. is entitled 'at the dedication of David's house'; it is remarkable that so many modern critics see in this an allusion to the dedication of the Temple, and endeavour to assign it to the dedication of the Macca-

bean Temple, in 164 B.C. There is nothing in the Psalm to favour either the late date or its reference to the Temple rather than to the palace which David built for himself. It should be noticed that in the LXX., Ps. xxviii. has a similar title, viz. 'at the finishing of the tabernacle,' this may be referred to the tabernacle which David, II. Sam. vi. 17, had pitched for the reception of the ark. It is commonly held that these, and similar liturgical titles, only indicate the rubrics directing the use of these particular psalms on certain anniversaries; but there is no proof of this, and it seems an unnecessary shirking of the plain teaching of the title. The psalms of the first book are all, with the exception of the first two and the thirty-third, attributed to David (for a discussion of this point see *infra*), and it is worth while noting the similarity in tone between Psalms xxv. and xxix., many expressions in them occur repeatedly.

The *Gradual Psalms.* This title may be conveniently included among the liturgical or rubrical titles. Its precise meaning has been much disputed; it has been suggested (a) that we have in it an allusion to the fifteen steps which, in the second temple—that of Zorobabel, led from the court of the women to that of the men; but this view seems based upon a false understanding of a reference in the Talmud which merely draws a parallel between these steps and the fifteen Gradual Psalms. (b) Others see in the title an allusion to the 'ascending' structure of these psalms; but though such a structure can be determined in some of them, in Ps. cxx. for instance, it is next to impossible to see any trace of it in the rest. (c) Others, again, endeavour to see in this title a reference to the Return under Esdras, cf. Esdras vii. 9, but it is hard to justify this. (d) Lastly, it is suggested that we have in this title a reference to the hymns which were commonly sung by the pilgrims as they 'came up' to Jerusalem for the yearly feasts; this view seems to have much in its favour, cf. Is. xxx. 9, 29; Ps. xli. 5, cxxi. 4; I. Sam. i. 3. These psalms are real lyrics, and have always been favourites.

Besides liturgical titles, we have the mysterious term '*Selah*,' which has been much discussed. It is clearly a musical term; this seems to follow from the fact that

twenty-nine out of the thirty-nine psalms in which it occurs bear the title for 'the chief cantor,' and that the remaining ten also bear musical titles. Its occurrences in the psalter are not without interest for the investigation of the steps which led to the present form of the psalter, cf. *infra;* it will be sufficient to remark here that the 'Selah' occurs in nine psalms of Bk. I., in seventeen of Bk. II., in eleven of Bk. III., in none of Bk. IV., in two of Bk. V. Its meaning will perhaps always remain a mystery; the LXX., Symmachus, and Theodotion, rendered it *diapsalma* or 'pause,' thus clearly regarding it as a musical term; the Jewish tradition, the Targums, Aquila always, the Greek versions known as the fifth and sixth, Theodotion and Symmachus sometimes, rendered it *aei* or 'always,' and this rendering was preferred by St. Jerome who, however, omitted it in his corrections of the Psalter, hence its non-occurrence in our Douay version. Modern writers are inclined to see in it a direction to the cantor to 'raise the tone,' it is doubtful, however, whether the grounds for this view are sufficiently strong to win for it universal acceptance. The only place in which Selah occurs outside the Psalter is Hab. iii., where it appears three times. In Ps. ix. 17, it is found in conjunction with a peculiar word, *Higgaion*, which also occurs in xci. 3, and probably means 'meditation,' cf. xix. 15.

Titles indicating musical instruments. (a) 'In verses,' 'in carminibus,' in Hebrew *binginoth;* this term is found in Pss. iv., vi., lv., liii., liv., lxvi., lxxv., and in Hab. iii. 9; in Job. xxx. 9, it is rendered 'song'; it is probably to be referred to the root *nagah*, meaning 'to finger,' and hence 'to play on an instrument.' (b) in Ps. v. only we have *el-han-nechiloth*, 'pro ea quae haereditatem consequitur,' a rendering taken over from LXX.; it is probable that this rendering is due to a false etymology, the root *nachal* means 'to inherit,' but our word is better referred to the root *chalal*, 'to perforate,' whence the noun, which will then mean a 'flute,' cf. 'with a pipe,' Is. xxx. 29.

Titles indicating the pitch or tone. In Ps. xlv. we have the expression *al-alamoth*, 'for the hidden,' a translation taken directly from the Vulgate and LXX. St. Jerome rendered it in his version 'pro juventutibus,' thus following Aquila; he appears to have understood

it as referring to the voices of maidens and would thus indicate that it was to be rendered 'soprano'; a comparison with the next term, 'for the octave,' which occurs in Pss. vi. and xi., will perhaps make this meaning clearer. In I. Paral. xv. 19-21, both terms occur in juxta-position 'Zacharias.....sung *mysteries* upon psalteries, *bin-nebalim al-alamoth* (R.V. 'with psalteries set to *Alamoth*), and others.....sung a song of victory for the octave upon harps,' *al-hash-sheminith lenatseach* (R.V., 'with harps set to the *Sheminith*'). It is possible that these two terms indicate the higher and the lower octaves respectively; it is interesting to note the various terms which occur in this passage in illustration of the musical titles of the psalms. The term 'for the presses,' in Pss. viii., lxxx., lxxxiii.; in Vulgate, 'pro torcularibus,' was rendered by Aquila and Theodotion, *Getthididos*, by which they presumably meant a Gethite instrument, it has even been suggested that it refers to the 'march' of the Gethite guard, cf. II. Sam. xv. 18. In Pss. lxi. and lxxvi., the expression 'for Idithun' is difficult; the Hebrew preposition here is *'al*, which we should rather render by '*upon*,' hence some have proposed to see in 'Idithun' an instrument; it must be confessed that this is unlikely, in Ps. xxxix. 1, we have '*for* Idithun,' with the preposition *le* which may signify authorship, see above, and from I. Paral. xvi. 41, it seems clear that Idithun was one of David's cantors, hence it is possible that in these titles the term means 'set to a melody composed by Idithun.'

Titles indicating different species of Psalms. (a) Fifty-seven Psalms are entitled 'Psalm,' in Hebrew *Mizmor*, derived from the root *Zamar*, meaning 'to vibrate,' hence 'to touch musical chords,' cf. ix. 12, xxxiii (xxxii.) 2-3. (b) Thirty are called 'canticle,' *shir*, it may be implied in this title that the piece was not accompanied by music; the two terms are sometimes combined, and we have 'a canticle of a psalm,' or 'a psalm of a canticle, e.g. lxv-lxviii. (c) Thirteen psalms are called 'understanding,' *maskil*, this is perhaps to be understood of 'didactic' psalms since the root *sakal* means 'to teach,' cf. Dan. xi. 33, where the curious play upon the word should be noted; at the same time many of the psalms so entitled can hardly

be called 'didactic,' hence it has been suggested that the word may indicate a psalm constructed with a certain technical art. (d) Six are termed 'the inscription of a title,' *miktam*, cf. *supra*. (e) In vii., and in Hab. iii. 1, we meet with the word *shig-gaion*, rendered in LXX., Latin, and Douay version, simply 'a psalm' in Ps. vii., but in Hab. iii. 1, *al shig-gaion* is rendered by LXX. *meta odes*, 'with a song,' by Vulgate 'pro ignorantiis,' where St. Jerome has followed the lead of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; the origin of this interpretation is not clear, the Hebrew root *shagah* may mean either 'to cry aloud' or 'to wander,' from this latter meaning some have derived the sense of a Dithyrambic poem for Shiggaion. (f) Five psalms are called 'prayers,' and the same term reappears in the subscription to Ps. lxxi., 'the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended'; it is unfortunate that in the Douay version we read 'praises' for 'prayers,' this rendering is in accordance with the LXX. and Vulgate, but it leads to a confusion of two distinct words, viz. *tehilim*, 'praises,' i.e. the title of the whole Psalter, and *tephil-loth*, i.e., '*prayers*,' which, as remarked above, may once have been a title for the Psalter if we are to be guided by this subscription to Ps. lxxi.

Titles indicating the Authors of the Psalms. We have already referred to the difficulty regarding the Hebrew preposition which in Hab. iii. 1, clearly indicates the author of that hymn, but which in the Psalter cannot easily be thus interpreted since the 'Sons of Core' can hardly have been 'the author' of any one individual psalm. Leaving aside, however, this question of interpretation, seven 'authors' only are mentioned in the titles, viz.

Moses. Ps. lxxxix., the opening psalm of Bk. IV.

David. Seventy-three psalms are attributed to him in the Hebrew text, eighty-five in the Vulgate; the Hebrew and all versions agree in assigning to him sixty-nine.

Solomon. Two psalms are assigned to him, viz. lxxi. and cxxvi.

Asaph, Pss. xlix. and lxxii-lxxxii.; for allusions to him as one of David's cantors see I. Paral. vi. 39, xv. 17, xvi. 5, II. Paral. v. 12.

The sons of Core, Pss. xli-xlviii., lxxxiii-lxxxiv., lxxxvii-lxxxviii.; for allusions to them as the chief singers, see I. Paral. xxv. 4-8, where fourteen of the sons of Heman who, as we know from I. Paral. vi. 33-37, was a Corahite, are named as the leaders in the temple-chant, cf. II. Paral. xx. 19, where in the time of Josaphat the Corahites were already known as singers.

Eman the Ezrahite and *Ethan the Ezrahite* are given as the (?) authors of Pss. lxxxvii. and lxxxviii.; presumably the great singers who are grouped with Asaph in I. Paral. xv. 19, are here intended, but the patronymic 'Ezrahite' has led some to think that they are to be referred to the tribe of Juda, cf. III. Kgs. iv. 31, and I. Paral. ii. 6.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE TITLES. Hitherto we have taken the titles for granted, but since it is the fashion to throw discredit on them we must investigate their claims to authenticity. It has been objected that (a) the variations between the Hebrew text of the titles and that of the versions entitles us to disregard them; (b) that it is somewhat suspicious that psalms should be assigned only to Moses, David, Solomon, and the Levitical singers; it is urged that this shows a custom of referring the different psalms as far back as possible in order to give them a claim to acceptance; it would be more natural, so it is urged, to find the names of well-known prophets such as Isaias and Jeremias in the titles, these prophets were both of them hymn-writers. (c) Again, the historical notices in the titles are all referred to the books of Samuel, and hardly any of them can be called appropriate. (d) Similarly many of the historical allusions to David seem impossible to justify, e.g. in the titles to Pss. lxviii. and ci.

We have already indicated the various parts which go to make up the titles, and it will be evident that arguments which will support the liturgical titles, for example, will not support the historical ones. First of all, then, with regard to the *musical titles*. (a) Their antiquity is apparent from the fact that the LXX. did not understand them; (b) the later psalms, i.e. those of the last two books, are precisely those which have

not got them; (c) Hab. iii. where they also occur, shows the pre-exilic use of them. The *Liturgical titles:* it has been urged at times that these at least are post-exilic in date; the main ground for this assertion is that outside the Psalter they only occur in Paralipomena; but it may well be answered that they would have been out of place in any other book, and moreover, that they do not *all* occur in the Chronicles. The *Historical titles:* it is a fact that the occasions assigned in the titles are often obscure, but it must be remembered that in the historical books we only have a very incomplete history of David; we are not given his biography, but rather the divine ordering of his life. Hence it is illogical to make difficulties over a psalm-title merely because it does not always exactly fit in with the details furnished us in the Books of Kings. The titles of *authorship:* as this is the vital question, a few remarks about the titles in general will be of use; first of all it should not be too readily conceded that there exists a great deal of discrepancy between the Hebrew and the versions regarding the titles; the evidence is often unanimous. Secondly, it should be noted that the very paucity of names in the titles is in itself an argument for their authenticity; had they been due to a later age, many more would undoubtedly have been inserted; we find a confirmation of this in the additional titles inserted in the LXX., e.g. Pss. xcii-xcviii. are anonymous in Hebrew, but they are all attributed to David in LXX.; similarly, Pss. cxxxvi-cl. are most of them anonymous in Hebrew, but in LXX. many of them are attributed to Zacharias and Aggeus, and one to Jeremias. Hence it seems a legitimate argument that the titles in the Hebrew are not to be rejected without good authority, and such does not seem to be forthcoming.

We are now in a position to discuss the precise meaning to be attached to the expression 'for David' or 'for Solomon' in the titles; we have seen that it can hardly mean authorship as we understand it. In order to arrive at a clear view of the question, it will be necessary to pass in review each book of the Psalter. In Bk. I., viz. Pss. i-xl., all, with the exception of Pss. i., ii., and xxxiii (xxxii.), are in the Hebrew attributed to *David*, hence this 'Book' must be regarded

as a *Davidic collection*. In Bk. II., Pss. xli-xlviii., are assigned to the *sons of Core*, xlix. to *Asaph*, lxiv., lxviii-lxix. to *David*, lxv. lxvi., and lxx. are *anonymous*, lxxi. is assigned to *Solomon*. This book is then clearly a composite collection, half of it, roughly speaking, being assigned to David and half to the Corahites. In Bk. III., Pss. lxxii-lxxxii. are assigned to *Asaph*, lxxxiii-lxxxiv. to the *Corahites*, lxxxv. to *David*, lxxxvi-lxxxviii. to the *Corahites*. Here we have quite a different state of things, only one psalm is assigned to David, and even that one is so clearly a cento of passages derived from other psalms that it is difficult to accept it as David's; this 'Book' then, is essentially a *Levitical collection*. In Bk. IV., Ps. lxxxix. is assigned to *Moses*, xc., ci., ciii., c., and cii. are given to *David*, the rest are *anonymous*, though in the LXX., Vulgate, and Douay they are nearly all of them assigned to David. In Bk. V., while fifteen are said to be psalms of *David*, and one is assigned to *Solomon*, no less than twenty-nine are *anonymous*, though the LXX., followed by the Vulgate, has assigned many of them to later prophets. It will be noticed, then, that the psalms are more or less—especially in the first two books—grouped according to their authors, thus Bk. I. is purely Davidic, Bk. II. is so in great part, Bk. III. is Levitical, Bk. IV. is almost wholly anonymous, Bk. V. is so in great part.

But there is another and most important feature in these different books and that is the strikingly different use of the *Divine Names* which characterises them. The different usages may be tabulated as follows:

Bk.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
Jehovah	272	30	44	103	236.
Elohim	15	164	43	0	0.

Thus we have, according to this use of the Divine names, three groups rather than five; Bk. I. is *Jahvistic*, Bks. II-III. may be considered *Elohistic*, Bks. IV-V. are *Jahvistic*.

In estimating these data another factor must be taken into account. Some psalms have been repeated, i.e. they occur in different books—and what is most remarkable—when so repeated, they, if they pass from a Jahvistic to an Elohistic book, assume the Divine

Name proper to the book in which they now occur. Thus Ps. xiii. is repeated in Bk. II. as Ps. lii., but whereas it was a Jahvistic psalm in the first book, it becomes an Elohistic psalm in the second. The same is the case with Ps. xxxix. 14-18, which is repeated in Ps. lxix. where in the Hebrew text *Jehovah* is generally replaced by *Elohim.* The most interesting case, however, is that of Ps. cvii. which belongs to Bk. V., a Jahvistic book; this Psalm is made up of portions of Pss. lvi. and lix., i.e. two Elohistic Psalms taken from Bk. II. According to the analogy of the preceding examples, we should expect these two Psalms to undergo a change in the Divine Names employed; but no change is made, and we have the only instances of the Name *Elohim* which occur in Bk. V.; they are not, however, enumerated in the table given above since they are clearly taken over bodily from Bk. II. and do not, properly speaking, belong to Bk. V.

THE COMPILATION OF THE PSALTER. The foregoing facts compel us to see in the Psalter, as we now have it, the work of a compiler. To repeat, we have a series of collections of psalms, viz. those of David, of Asaph, of the sons of Core, and those of anonymous writers; further, we find certain psalms repeated and undergoing certain striking changes in the process; lastly there is the fact that the different Divine Names are used with a definiteness which is startling, so much so that a Psalm, when transplanted, changes its vocabulary of Divine Names in some instances, and yet does not do so in another. And that these changes in the Divine Names were deliberate and mark the hand of an editor working on a definite principle is clear when we compare certain passages in the Psalms with the Pentateuchal or other texts from which they were derived, thus xlix. 7, is a quotation from Exod. xx. 2, but the 'Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus' of this passage is, in the Psalm, changed into 'Deus, Deus tuus, Ego sum.' Similarly in lxvii. 1-3, we have undoubted reminiscences of Nbs. x. 35, and Jud. v. 4, 5, 31; yet all through, the *Jehovah* of the latter passages has become *Elohim;* lastly, a comparison between Ps. lxxxv. and the passages from ear-

lier psalms, of which it is to a large extent composed, will show a consistent manipulation of the Divine Names.

When speaking above of the various 'collections' which go to make up the Psalter, we only mentioned the more important and evident ones, but a further examination will show the existence of a number of other smaller collections; thus it is remarkable that in the Elohistic Bk. III., Pss. lxxxiii-lxxxviii. do not appear to have undergone an Elohistic revision, the Name Jehovah is constantly found among them; they seem, then, to belong to a separate series; again, the presence of two collections of Corahite Psalms, one in Bk. II., the other in Bk. III., seems to indicate that these collections were made at separate times; in Bk. IV., we have a collection of anonymous Psalms, viz. the Psalms of the Judgement; in Bk. V., the Gradual Psalms appear to belong to a separate collection; so also the 'Confitemini' Psalms; so again the 'Alleluia' Psalms; notice, too, the two Davidic collections in Pss. cvii-cix., cxxxvii-cxliv.

It is clear, then, that the Psalter is composed of a number of collections of Psalms, and that in the process of compilation certain changes were introduced—presumably for liturgical reasons.

Can we assign dates to any of these 'collections'? And can we arrive at any conclusion with regard to the date of the final reduction of the whole to its present form?

It will be noticed that Bk. I. is of a much more homogeneous character than the succeeding ones; with three exceptions all the Psalms contained in it are attributed to David and there is absolutely no ground for questioning the Davidic authorship of them. Ps. xvii. occurs in II. Sam. xxii. as David's, and the fact that there are a number of minute differences between the Hebrew text of the Psalm in Samuel and in the Psalter is in itself a proof of the solidity of the tradition regarding its Davidic authorship. And it is surely legitimate to argue that if David could pen Ps. xvii. he was equally capable of penning any other Psalm in the Psalter. In Bk. II., we have what appears to be another Davidic collection with a Levitical collection prefixed to it; we have already had

occasion to refer to the closing words of Ps. lxxi., 'the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.' These words can be nothing else than an editorial note, they are omitted in the Breviary edition of the Psalms. But as an editorial note they bear witness to an early period of literary activity, and we cannot be far wrong in regarding them as an editor's declaration that he can find no more Psalms of David; in proof of such literary activity, we have only to turn to Prov. xxv. 1, or to II. Macc. ii. 13. But the question at once presents itself: if this editor found no more Davidic Psalms how comes it that we have others in the Books IV. and V.? The answer must evidently be that, just as literary executors nowadays find, not all the 'literary remains' of David were at once forthcoming, and it was left to later researches to discover others as time went on. This need not be thought far-fetched, the age was a literary one, as the mere production of the Psalms show, and as is proved by the literary remains of Babylonia and Assyria.

The Levitical collections in Bks. II-III. are of great interest, the Psalms are referred to Asaph and to the Sons of Core. Are we to see in these Psalms and in these names pre-exilic or post-exilic writings and writers? From the references given above it will be seen that the great Temple-singers were known long before the exile, hence there is no *à priori* difficulty in saying that these Psalms are rightly attributed to pre-exilic times. But what seems to us a striking confirmation of this view is forthcoming; in Bks. IV-V. we have many Psalms which may with great probability be referred to the post-exilic period; now it is noticeable that none of these are said to be 'for the Sons of Core,' nor 'for Asaph'; in the Hebrew they are most of them anonymous, in the LXX., when names are given in the titles, it is precisely the post-exilic prophets whose names are singled out. Moreover, as pointed out above, the liturgical titles which are so plentiful in Bks. I-III. are wanting here, from which we might conclude that at the time these Books were compiled the true signification of these titles was unknown, as indeed the Greek attempts at translation of them would indicate. At the same time, how precarious are all attempts at dating the Psalms or collections of them,

will be evident from a single fact the importance of which cannot be overrated; the expression 'Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus' occurs only in Bks. IV. and V., and is hence regarded as a characteristic feature of the Second Temple service; how precarious is such a conclusion will appear from the fact that Jer. xxxiii. 11, refers to it as a synonym for all singing of Psalms, and this of course at a period antecedent to the captivity.

But the most convincing proof of the comparatively late period at which at least Bk. V. was compiled is to be found in the fact referred to already, namely that Ps. cvii., which is composed of two Elohistic Psalms, has been incorporated into this particular Book without being edited, i.e. it retains its Elohistic Names, even when incorporated into a Jehovistic Book. This points to a threefold distinction in the development of the Psalter. There was first the period when the Name *Jehovah* was in use; then came the period when the Name *Elohim* was used in preference to that of *Jehovah* and Psalms incorporated into Bk. II. had to undergo a modification of their Divine Names; there then followed a period when Psalms were taken over as they were, when, though the Name *Jehovah* was in regular use, it was not thought necessary to change the Name of *Elohim* into that of *Jehovah* merely because a Psalm was to be inserted into a later Book.

The division of the Books into Elohistic and Jehovistic has shown that the Psalter, from this point of view, falls into three distinct parts, viz. Bk. I. Jehovistic, Bks. II-III. Elohistic, Bks. IV-V. Jehovistic. These three divisions may be distinguished as the Personal, the National, and the Liturgical portions of the Psalter; and it is not impossible that the use of the Divine Names may be explained in accordance with this division. Thus the first part, Bk. I., is pre-exilic, the third part is—to a large extent—post-exilic, and these are the two Jehovistic parts; it is conceivable, then, that the Elohistic portion, Bks. II-III., may have been compiled during the exile, and that this fact may explain the elimination of the Ineffable Name *Jehovah*. At the same time it will not follow that the psalms found in any one Book were necessarily *written* at the time the Book was *compiled*, they may have been written

long before, and have been well known, but may owe their particular place in the Psalter to reasons which we cannot now discover; the period of compilation, in short, is no clue to the period of composition.

In discussing the date of individual psalms it must be remembered that (a) Psalmody dates from a very early period in Israel's history, Exod. xv., Deut. xxxi., Jud. v., are sufficient proof of this. (b) Liturgical use can be shown to have existed long before the exile, cf. Is. xxx. 29, lxiv. 11, Jer. xxxiii. 11, Amos v. 23, viii. 10, and Ps. cxxxvi. (c) David is repeatedly presented to us as a poet, cf. I. Sam. xvi. 18, II. Sam. i. 18-27, xxii. and xxiii. 1-7. In II. Paral. xxix. 30, the ritual is attributed to him and to Asaph, cf. Esdras iii. 10, Neh. xii. 24, (d) The Psalms in which the 'king' is specially mentioned cannot easily be referred to a period when the Davidic king was in exile, and it may be worth while to point out here a curious coincidence—if it be only a coincidence; in Ps. cxlvi. 10, we have a repetition of words found in Ps. xxxii. 16-17, it is remarkable that the reference to the 'king' is omitted in the later Psalm which we should on independent grounds refer to the time after the exile.

"MACCABEAN" PSALMS. It is the fashion nowadays to say that several Psalms belong to the days of the Maccabees, viz. to the latest part of the Seleucidan period, i.e. from 166-130 B.C. An examination of this question will serve to bring out certain critical principles, and will thus be of service in investigating other questions.

The Psalms which are generally said to show the clearest marks of their Maccabean date are xliii., lix., lxxiii., lxxviii., lxxxii. It may be safely maintained that there is very little in these Psalms to justify such an assertion with regard to them; as said at the outset, the Psalms are not cast into an historical framework, and any attempt to reconstruct history out of them is doomed to failure. The efforts of modern critics to read into these particular Psalms certain portions of history cannot be taken seriously; but it is with extrinsic arguments that we are more particularly concerned.

(a) Ps. lxxviii. 2-3, is quoted in I. Macc. vii. 15-17, and the quotation is prefaced by the phrase 'according to the word that is written'; it seems hardly credible that if the Psalm dated only from the period of the Maccabean wars it should be quoted as inspired Scripture by the author of I. Macc., a work practically contemporary with the events it records.

(b) In I. Paral. xvi., we have a Psalm which is a combination of Pss. civ., xcv., and cv.; at the close of cv., there is a doxology which is repeated in this composite Psalm. But this proves that at the time the Chronicler wrote, this doxology, and consequently the division between the Bks. IV. and V. at this point, existed already. But no one seriously proposes to bring down the date of the Chronicler later than about 300 B.C.

(c) We have seen that Bks. II-III., to which these so-called Maccabean Psalms belong, are Elohistic; but that this Elohistic section was already existing when Bk. V. was formed is proved by the fact that two of them, lvi. and lix., have been welded into one to form Ps. cvii., and this without any change being made in the Divine Names contained in them—though forming an incongruous element in a Jehovistic book. But since in I. Paral. xvi., Ps. cv., as we have seen, has its doxology appended, it would be reasonable to suppose that the Psalter did not at that time end here but already had Bk. V. added to it.

(d) The Psalms in question have musical titles, which are lacking in the later books and which were not understood by the LXX.

(e) While we have no certain data for fixing the time when the Greek translation of the Psalter was completed, we cannot put it later than the end of the second century B.C.; but this renders it increasingly difficult to suppose that Psalms bearing titles which the Greek translators did not understand had only been composed a few decades previously.

(f) The Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, with its thrice-repeated reference to the triple division of the Bible into 'the Law, the Prophets, and the other Books,' and with its insistence on the difference between the

Bible in the original and in its Greek dress, shows that the translator (*c.* 130 B.C.), was acquainted with the LXX. version, cf. the LXX. variant which he has retained in xlvi. 19 (22 in Douay); that he knew the LXX. version of the Psalter follows from the fact that the Psalter is, in most 'lists,' the first book in the division termed 'Hagiographa' or 'writings,' cf. St. Luke xxiv. 44, and if there were any doubt about this it is set at rest by the discovery of the Hebrew text which inserts after li. 12, a Psalm of some fifteen verses made up of extracts from Pss. cxvii. 1-4, and cxxxv. 1-26; if this Psalm formed part of the original text it follows that in the time of the author of Ecclesiasticus, i.e. about 180 B.C., the Greek Psalter was known in Egypt—twenty years before the Maccabean wars.

PROVERBS.

In Hebrew *Mishle,* in the LXX. *Paroimiai.* A 'Collection of Wise Sayings' seems to be the most satisfactory rendering of the Hebrew term, cf. Ps. lxxvii. 2. That these 'Sayings' were collected at different times is clear from the 'titles' which are affixed to different parts of the Book, and with the assistance of these 'titles' we can break up the whole into the following parts:

(a) Chs. i-x. "The Parables of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel."

(b) x-xxii. 16, bear—in the Vulgate only—the title, "The Parables of Solomon."

(c) xxii. 17–xxiv. 22, may, according to the LXX., be a separate section.

(d) xxiv. 23-34, is, also according to the LXX., a separate section.

(e) xxv. 1–xxix. 27, forms a section bearing in the Hebrew, LXX., and Vulgate, the interesting heading, "These are also parables of Solomon which the men of Ezechias, king of Juda copied out." The LXX. adds, "*the undoubted* parables."

(f) xxx. 1-33, is regarded as the first of three appendices; it bears the title, "The words of Gatherer the son of Vomiter; the vision which the man spoke, etc."

We have here a good instance of the way in which St. Jerome sometimes translated, instead of transliterating, the Hebrew proper names; in the R.V., we have the literal rendering of the Hebrew "the words of Agur the son of Jakeh, the oracle (or, of Massa)." This title is omitted in the LXX.

(g) xxxi. 1-9, a second appendix; "The words of king Lamuel, the vision wherewith his mother instructed him."

(h) xxxi. 10-31. The praises of the valiant woman. No title is prefixed, but its style separates it off decisively from the preceding; it is a species of acrostic, each verse beginning with a new letter of the alphabet in the same way as the alphabetic psalms, *q.v.*

That these sections are not fanciful is clearly shown by the different styles evinced in each section. Thus in (a) there is hardly any indication of what we should call 'proverbs,' the sentences are long and are closely connected, the sequence of thought is sustained. The same feature is noticeable in (d). On the other hand in (b) and (e) we have the real terseness of 'proverbs' as we understand them. In (c), again, we miss the crisp style of 'proverbs,' while in the three appendices we are in presence of an altogether different style.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP. According to the 'titles' given above, (a), (b), and (e) are attributed to Solomon, and there is absolutely no reason for dissenting from this view; it has been well remarked that 'the men of Ezechias' would be in a far better position to decide upon the authorship of the section xxv-xxix. than we can be, and it should be noted, too, that in saying 'these are *also* parables of Solomon' they clearly showed that they regarded those which preceded as also his work. Such passages as Eccles. xii. 9, Ecclus. xlvii. 17, III. Kgs. iv. 32, v. 9, x. 1, II. Paral. i. 7-10, all tend to confirm the traditional view that Solomon was the author, of the major part at least, of our Book of Proverbs. With regard to the appendices it should be noted that the LXX. translators clearly did not understand the Hebrew text of the title to xxxi., it is a legitimate conclusion, therefore, that at the time this translation was made the Hebrew text was very ancient.

THE TEACHING OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS. It is sometimes urged that the moral code set forth is not of a very lofty character, but we should be wrong to see in the book a treatise on asceticism. It is Jewish wisdom and, above all, it is human wisdom. A stream cannot rise higher than its source, and the source in this case is the Jewish Law, the 'weak and needy elements' of which St. Paul speaks so scathingly, Gal. iv. 9. And the power of the Book lies in this, that, while it is based on the Law, it disregards the accidentals of that Law but has seized on its substance, hence it presents us with many ideals. Many of the 'proverbs' only find their fulfilment in Him Who came to fulfil all justice, thus cf. xi. 17, xvii. 17, xviii. 24. Similarly, the personifications which are so striking a feature of the Book can only find their fulfilment in Him, and indeed have ever been so interpreted in the Church. From an *à priori* standpoint we should hardly expect the book to be often quoted in N.T., yet the opposite is the case, cf. Heb. xii. 5, St. Jas. iv. 6, I. Peter iv. 8, Rom. xii. 20.

ECCLESIASTES.

Qoheleth. The Hebrew word really means, according to St. Jerome, 'one who summons the people,' cf. III. Kgs. viii. 3, in Hebrew; but it may be rendered 'the Preacher,' In his Preface to his Commentary on this Book, St. Jerome says: "I remember about five years ago, when I was at Rome, and read Ecclesiastes to the sainted Blesilla in order to induce her to despise this world and to account as nothing all that she saw in it, I remember that she asked me to treat of certain obscure points in it by way of a brief commentary so that when I was away she might be able to understand what she read. And so, since at the very outset of the work she was carried away by a sudden death—and we, Paula and Eustochium, have never deserved to have another such companion in our lives—and I at the time was stunned into silence by the blow—I, now that I am at Bethlehem, a city of glorious name indeed, pay the debt I owe both to you and to her memory. I would only remark that

I follow no master; but, translating from the Hebrew, I have kept rather closely to the LXX. in those places where they do not much differ from the Hebrew. Sometimes I mention Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and this, both in order not to terrify the reader by a show of novelty, and also so as not to act against my conscience by neglecting any source of truth by simply following the streamlets of mere opinion."

We have quoted these words in full as giving an example of St. Jerome's methods of work, and also because they show how alive he was to the difficulties of the book. For Ecclesiastes has always been considered a difficult book. St. Jerome himself, at the close of his commentary, says that the Hebrews thought that it ought to be consigned to oblivion, like other lost books of Solomon's, on the ground that it asserted that all God's creatures were vain and were all to be accounted as nothing, that moreover it set meat and drink and passing delights before all else. But it retained its place in the Canon, he adds, solely because of the last two verses which summed up the whole of the author's teaching.

It is clear, then, from the foregoing that it is easy to go astray in reading Ecclesiastes unless we have the key to it in our hands. And the key lies in the last two verses, which, however, are not isolated, for their teaching appears again and again throughout the book, as we shall see from the following brief analysis.

A. I-VI. Proofs that all is vanity except to lead a happy life.

B. VII-XII. How to lead a happy life.

The key-note is struck at intervals throughout both parts of the book, thus:

I. Use the gifts and the life God has given you; ii. 24, iii. 22, v. 17-19, viii. 15, ix. 7-9.

II. Remember that all is God's gift and that He will judge us on our use of it; ii. 26, iii. 10, 17, v. 5, 17-18, viii. 12, ix. 1, xi. 9, xii. 13-14.

A fuller analysis.

I-VII. 1. *All is vanity except to lead a happy life.*

a. I. I-18, the Prologue; the vanity of all earthly things.

b. II-III. He proves it from his own experience.
ii. 1-11, Pleasure is vain.
ii. 12-17, Study is vain.
ii. 18-23, Working for an heir who is to consume all is vain.
ii. 24-26, therefore enjoy life because
iii. 1-15, it is short and meant to be used.
iii. 16-22, but remember that God will finally judge us.

c. IV-VII. 1. He proves the same from the inconstancy of all human nature.
iv. 1-16. There is nothing certain.
iv. 17–v. 8, a digression touching reverence in our worship of God.
v. 9–vii. 1, Man's life is full of calamities.

VII. 2–XII. 8. *How to lead a happy life.*

a. vii. 2-11, We must keep the end of life in view.

b. vii. 12–x. 20, The beauty of wisdom.
vii. 12-30, wisdom is commended.
viii-ix. 12, a wise use of life.
ix. 12-18, this is illustrated by a parable.
x. 1-20. a comparison between wisdom and folly.

c. xi-xii. 8, The value of works of mercy; for we know not the time when death and judgement shall come.

d. xii. 9-14, The Epilogue; this should be compared with the Prologue.

AUTHOR AND DATE. St. Jerome's words on this point are worth noting; for while he rejects the Salomonic authorship of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, he never doubts but that he wrote Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticle. Thus in the opening of his commentary on Ecclesiastes he says: "He (Solomon) published three volumes, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticle of Canticles. In *Proverbs* he teaches young men and instructs them in their duties by wise sayings, hence we so often find him saying, 'son.' But in *Ecclesiastes* he speaks to men of mature age, showing them that they must not think anything in this world is everlasting, but that all that we see is fleeting and brief.

But last of all, he introduces the now perfect man, prepared by trampling on this world, to the embraces of the Spouse in the *Canticle of Canticles*."

And the difference in style between these three books, St. Jerome explains by saying that in Proverbs Solomon teaches Morals; in Ecclesiastes he teaches the theology of nature; in the Canticle intellectual truths. The Rabinic tradition is that Solomon wrote the Canticle in his youth, Proverbs in middle life, Ecclesiastes in his old age.

We are in no sense bound to believe, however, that Solomon was actually the author of the book. Indeed many Catholics hold that it was written at a much later date than that of Solomon. At the same time it is not reasonable to relinquish, without solid grounds, a tradition long held by the most learned of the Fathers. The arguments generally alleged in favour of a later date are, (a) that the writer seems, i. 12, expressly to say that he was not Solomon, for he says, 'I *was* king in Jerusalem,' whereas we should expect him to say, 'I *am*'; but the same word in the same tense is used in Ps. lxxxviii. 5 (Hebrew), and in Gen. xxxii. 11, where it seems clearly to signify a present and not who were before him in Jerusalem, whereas there was only David previous to Solomon. Yet Solomon may well have known that there was a long line of Canaanite kings before him in Jerusalem. A far more serious argument, however, is based upon the lateness of the language; critics whose opinion cannot be lightly regarded maintain that the language is so patently late that the book must, if there is any history at all to the Hebrew language, be decidedly late. But there is little or no agreement as yet among these critics as to the exact period to which the book is to be assigned; indeed every century from Solomon's time down to that of Herod has been upheld! And while giving full weight to the argument from language it is well to remember that our knowledge of the stages through which the Semitic languages passed is as yet but meagre, and it is better to suspend our judgement than to rush to rash conclusions. On the other hand, in favour of Solomon's authorship, must be set the tradition of

the Hebrews which has never wavered. Ecclesiastes was always the middle book of the three which they assigned to Solomon; it occupies the same relative place in the LXX. In the present Massoretic Hebrew text Ecclesiastes occupies a place among the Hagiographa for liturgical reasons, the book being one of the five which went to make up the collection known as the 'Megilloth.' And, as according with the Salomonic authorship, we should notice in addition to the title in i. 1 and 12, the allusions to his wealth, i. 9, v. 12, 18; to his planting, i. 5; to his building, i. 46; and above all to his wisdom, i. 7, 10, 16, vii. 12-24, viii. 1, 5, etc. It is true that all these points may be due to the wish to represent Solomon to the life, but because such a thing is possible, it does not follow that it is true. Here again, however, we must not be too dogmatic, for it is certain that in *Wisdom* we have a book which is not Solomon's, and yet which presents itself as such. What was done in the one case may well have been done in the other.

THE CANTICLE OF CANTICLES.

St. Jerome, when writing to Laeta regarding the upbringing of her daughter, insists much on her reading and committing to memory Books of Sacred Scripture. He concludes with these words: "And let her learn the Song of Songs, but without danger, and therefore last of all; lest by reading it at the outset she suffer through not seeing that in this book the wedding-song of spiritual nuptials is sung in words which sound material." (*Ep.* LVII. *alias* VII.)

The Canticle of Canticles is, as St. Jerome has just said, a wedding-song; the title claims for it that it is the most perfect of all such songs. This was the Jewish view of it, and it has passed into the Church which has always regarded the Canticle as the expression of the highest form of love, that namely of chosen souls for their mystical Spouse. This 'love-song,' then, is constructed after the fashion of a dialogue; it is now the Lover, now His Beloved who speaks. It is often difficult to see where precisely one speaker begins and another ends, hence St. Jerome

but voices the thoughts of all the long series of commentators on the Canticle when he says that it is as difficult as it is short—see his Comment. on Abdias. Attempts have been made to split up this exquisite poem into divers small sections or separate poetical pieces, but the attempt fails when it is noticed how frequent are the refrains which give unity to the whole; thus note the refrain beginning, 'I adjure ye O ye daughters of Jerusalem....." in ii. 7, iii. 5, v. 8, viii. 4; so also compare ii. 7 and iii. 5; ii. 16, iv. 5, and vi. 2; again, iii. 6, vi. 9, and viii. 5; ii. 17, and iv. 6.

INTERPRETATION. The question of interpretation is a very vexed one. If we understand the Canticle literally, it is difficult to see how a song of purely carnal love can have found a place in the Bible; Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned by the Fifth Oecumenical Council, that of Constantinople, in 660 A.D., "because he throws contempt on the Canticle of Canticles by saying that Solomon wrote this to a mistress." This difficulty is hardly avoided by saying that the Song is to be taken as typical of mystic and holy love. For the typical sense must be founded on the literal, and it would thus remain true that according to this interpretation, Solomon penned this poem in a purely carnal and material sense. Hence we have to see in the Canticle an extended metaphor, in other words an allegory. We may define allegory thus: when a writer or speaker does not describe what he has really in view but something which has clear points of resemblance to it; and yet so presents his description that we are in no danger of misunderstanding his meaning. We have a perfect example of an allegory in Ezech. xvii. 3-10, and Our Lord makes use of this form of speech when He describes Himself as the Good Shepherd. Solomon, also, has left us an example of this form of composition in his description of Wisdom, cf. Prov. ix. And throughout the Old Testament we find God's relations towards the Chosen People thus set forth, *cf.* Ezech. xvi. and Osee i-iii. It is the same in the New Testament when the relations between Christ and His Church are described, cf. Ephes. v. 23, II. Cor. xi. 2, Apoc. xix. 7; cf. also Ps. xliv. as quoted in Ep. to Heb. i. 8. It has seemed well to insist on this, for the

tendency nowadays is to degrade the Canticle to the rank of a profane love-song. No one fought more strenuously against this opinion than St. Jerome, who maintained, against Jovinian, that the Song excluded all idea of carnal love: "I will prove," he says (*Adv. Jov.* I.), "that it contains the mystery of virginity, *virginitatis sacramenta.*" Again, he writes to Paulinus, *Ep.* LIII., "Solomon, a lover of peace and of the Lord, corrects morals, teaches nature, unites Christ and the Church, and sings a sweet song to celebrate that holy bridal." St. Bernard, in his series of eighty-six sermons on the first two chapters, has dwelt at great length on the Canticle as expressing the affections of mystical souls for the Divine Spouse Who "feeds among the lilies."

THE AUTHOR. We have spoken throughout of Solomon as the author, and, though modern writers endeavour to assign the Canticle to a much later date, it cannot be said that their arguments are convincing. The title in the Hebrew, Greek, and Vulgate is always the same, viz. '*Solomon's Canticle of Canticles.*' And until the time of the Reformation no one ever thought of denying Solomon's authorship of it. In III. Kgs. iv. 32, we are told of Solomon that "he treated of trees from the cedar that is in Libanus unto the hyssop that cometh out of the wall," and it is not a little remarkable, that, out of the 116 verses of which the Canticle is made up, 20 at least are concerned with flowers. It is maintained that the language shows signs of a late date, but the argument from language is a precarious one.

THE TEXT. The Douay translation is good, but a few points become clearer from a comparison with the original or with the Greek. Thus in ii. 1, our version misses the 'rose of Sharon'; in vi. 3, the parallelism is lost in our version: we should read, "thou art beautiful, O my love, as Therza"; in vii. 1, the proper name 'Mahanaim,' see Gen. xxxii. 2, has been translated; so also in viii. 11, we should read "Solomon had a vineyard in Baal-Hamon." The curious expression in iv. 3, and vi. 6, 'besides that which lieth hid within' should more correctly be rendered 'behind thy veil.'

Lastly, in viii. 5, a very indelicate expression is quite contrary to the Hebrew and the Greek, cf. the Revised Version.

WISDOM.

One of the few Books of the Old Testament which were written in Greek; its title in LXX. is *Sophia Salamonos.*

THEME OF THE BOOK AND ITS DIVISIONS. Many different divisions of the book have been proposed; thus some see in it two principal parts: i-vi. 23, an exhortation to Princes to cultivate true wisdom; vi. 24-xix. of the necessity, the origin, the proofs, and the effects of wisdom. This will do for a broad general view, but it will be more practical to divide it as follows:

i-ii. An exhortation to seek after wisdom and not to be like the wicked who despise it.

iii-v. The difference between the fate of the Just and of the Wicked.

vi. 3-23. Renewed exhortation to seek after Wisdom.

vi. 24-27. The author's theme: 'Now what wisdom is and what was her origin, I will declare.....'

vii-ix. How desirable Wisdom is; her praises; a prayer for it.

x-xii. The Wisdom of God as displayed in the history of the Hebrew people.

xiii-xv. Hence the folly of idolatry.

xvi-xix. As shown in the history of the plagues in Egypt.

THE OBJECT OF THE BOOK. The author's aim is to present a picture of that practical wisdom which shall lead a man to union with God: 'She is an infinite treasure to men; which they that use become the friends of God,' vii. 14. Nor is this wisdom purely of the practical order, it is speculative as well, see vii. 15-30. The emphasis laid on this speculative aspect of Wisdom leads to the personification of it, cf. vii-ix. We have here the roots of the *Logos* doctrine of St. John, cf. Coloss. i. 15 17, Heb. i., iv. 12, etc., and cf. the per-

sonifications of Wisdom in Prov. viii. etc., and in Job xxviii.

THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK. This question can only be decided after an examination of many points.

(a) *The Language.* The Book does not exist in Hebrew, and critics dispute as to whether it ever existed in that language. Thus Houbigant regarded chs. i-ix. as a translation from the Hebrew, and the remainder as an original Greek composition due to the translator of the earlier portion. He was led to this view by the poetical and Hebraic character of i-ix., as also by its likeness to the other Salomonic books, e.g. Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Recently, Margoliouth, *Outlines of Biblical Defence*, has argued that there are clear traces of a Hebrew original. The commoner view, however, is that the work is not a translation; thus the Greek is noticeably different from that of the LXX., and there are characteristic plays upon words in the Greek which seem hardly compatible with the character of a translation, cf. for example, i. 1-4. Houbigant insisted much on the Hebraic parallelism which is so marked in the earlier chapters, but it must be conceded that the same feature is observable in the later chapters as well, cf. xi. 2-4, 22-25. But though this undoubted parallelism will not prove the Hebrew origin of the Book, it seems a justifiable conclusion that the author was a Jew of the Greek dispersion; for we need not argue that because the Greek style is not that of the LXX., the author was therefore a pure Greek, Philo was an Alexandrian but he was also of Hebrew origin.

(b) *The Doctrines.* It is no exaggeration to say that the author is steeped in Greek thought and that he was acquainted with the tenets of the Philosophical Schools. Thus he speaks of the four Cardinal virtues in the terms of a Stoic, viii. 7; his description of Wisdom in vii. 22, is not that of a Hebrew; the expression 'matter without form,' xi. 17, is apparently Platonic; and note in xiv. 3, 'Thy Providence' (Greek *Pronoia*), 'O Father, governeth all,' where the term for 'Providence' is one otherwise unknown to the LXX. Hence St. Jerome says in his *Preface to the Books of*

Solomon that 'the very style of Wisdom is redolent of Greek eloquence.' He also maintains that it was originally composed in Greek.

(c) *Intrinsic evidence as to date.* It is usual to see in ii. 13-22, in iii. and v. references to an actual state of persecution in Egypt, but this seems exceedingly doubtful. Granting, however, that a real persecution is referred to, it is difficult to decide what persecution is meant. II. Macc. ii., tells us of a persecution of the Alexandrian Jews under Ptolemy Philopater, 222-225 B.C., but the historicity of II. Macc. is doubtful, and Josephus, *c. Ap.* ii. 5, knows nothing of any such persecution; he attributes the first Alexandrian persecution to Physcon, 179(145)-117, and at the worst this was but a brief affair. Hence, while the philosophical character of the book may compel us to refer it to a period not earlier than the Seleucidan era, it is almost impossible to assign a definite *terminus ad quem* for its composition; Swete, *Introd.* 2nd. ed. p. 269, is in favour of a date not earlier than the middle of the second century B.C.

(d) *The Author.* In the Muratorian Canon, *q.v.*, we find the remarkable statement: 'Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta.' It has been suggested that 'ab amicis' stands for *upo philon*, and this may be the equivalent of *upo Philonos*. This would be in accordance with St. Jerome's statement in his Preface to the Books of Solomon, that 'some ancient writers say that the author of Wisdom was Philo the Jew.' Philo lived B.C. 20 to A.D. 64, and it is hardly probable that his works could be quoted in N.T., as is the case with the Book of Wisdom, cf. infra. Moreover, though there are certain traces of Philo's peculiar line of thought, i. 4, xiii. 1, yet the book as a whole is singularly free from his allegorising methods, and that, too, in spite of the opportunity its subject-matter gives for such treatment.

While many of the Fathers, led by the title, speak of the Book as Solomon's e.g. Clement of Alexandria, St. Hyppolytus, St. Basil, Tertullian, etc., St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xvii. 20, and St. Jerome, *Praef. in Libros Salomonis*, reject the Salomonic authorship. Similarly, Origen and Eusebius question it, and many

others only enumerate three Salomonic Books; cf. Origen *in Joan.* xx. 4, Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* xi. 7.

THE RELATION OF WISDOM TO ECCLESIASTES. This question is one of considerable interest. For the latter book was peculiarly liable to be misunderstood, and it is quite possible that certain passages in the Book of Wisdom were intended to obviate such misunderstanding:

(1) The title, '*Wisdom* of Solomon,' may be compared with the view of Solomon presented in Ecclesiastes.

(2) Submission to the tyranny of kings is insisted on in Eccles. v. 8, x. 4, 20; it seems to be rebuked in Wisd. i. 1, vi. 1-10.

(3) Eccles. ii. 1-8 (Heb. text), seems to teach that wisdom is to be found in wine; this is negatived in Wisd. i. 4.

(4) 'Vanity of vanities'—the somewhat melancholy refrain of Eccles.—may be met by the statement in Wisd. i. 11, that murmuring is unprofitable.

(5) That death is better than life, Eccles. vi. 4-5; cf. Wisd. i. 12.

(6) That life is short and miserable, Eccles. viii. 6; cf. Wisd. ii. 5, 'thus say the *wicked*.'

(7) Eccles. ix. throughout, should be compared with Wisd. i. 7-13.

(8) In Eccles. there is no mention of the Patriarchs, of the folly of idolatry, of God's power, nor of the Law; hence—it may be—that such stress is laid on all these in Wisdom.

CANONICITY. Since it is not in the Hebrew text, Wisdom was rejected by the Reformers. Yet, leaving on one side the authority of the Church, the canonicity of the book is indubitable.

(a) *Its use in N.T.* Rom. i. 20-32, should be compared with Wisd. xiii. 1-9; Rom. i. 20-21 with Wisd. xv. 7; Rom. ix. 22 with Wisd. xii. 18-20, I. Thess. v. 8, Ephes. vi. 13-17, with Wisd. v. 17-19. Especially cf. Heb. i. 1, 'in divers manners,' and Wisd. vii. 22; cf., too, Heb. i. 3, and Wisd. vii. 26, in the Greek text. Also Heb. iv. 12, and Wisd. xviii. 22, and

i. 6. While it might be argued from many of the preceding allusions that St. Paul is merely echoing a Greek work with which he is well acquainted, but which he does not regard as inspired, the same can hardly be said of the references in the Ep. to the Hebrews where he is establishing a dogma of the faith.

(b) *The Fathers of the Church.* We have already referred to the presence of Wisdom in the Muratorian Canon, and it will suffice here to refer to St. Clement of Rome who in I. Cor. v. quotes *in extenso* Wisd. ii. 24; in I. Cor. xxvii., he cites Wisd. xii. 12, and on the same footing as Ps. xviii.

For further details see under *Canon and Deutero-canonical Books.*

ECCLESIASTICUS.

In Hebrew *Mishle* according to St. Jerome, *Preface to the Books of Solomon;* in LXX. *Sophia Sirac,* or 'Wisdom of Sirach.' The meaning of the title 'Ecclesiasticus' is not clear; since 'Ecclesiastes' meant the 'Preacher,' and since there is a similarity between the two titles, some have thought that the latter title signified the 'Summoner,' in Latin 'Congregator,' cf. xxxiii. 19, in Hebrew. But this title is not that given by the author, it refers to the contents of the Book and probably means 'the Ecclesiastical Book *par excellence.*' This meaning is clear from St. Cyprian's *Testimonia* ii. 1, 'apud Salomonem.....in Ecclesiastico,' and more expressly in Rufinus *in Symbol.* 38: "there are other books which are not called canonical by our predecessors but *ecclesiastical,* i.e. the so-called Wisdom of Solomon and the other Wisdom called after the son of Sirach, this latter is known by the Latins under the general title of *Ecclesiasticus,* a name applying not to the writer but to the character of the book."

Divisions:

There is no very orderly procedure in the Book and the only practical divisions seem to be:

(a) i-xlii. Counsels regarding the practice of divers virtues.

(b) xliii-li. Historical examples of the practice of the Virtues.

It should be noted that li. 18-38, is a metrical composition not unlike Prov. xxxi. 10-31; it is alphabetically arranged. The Prologue of the Book has a peculiar interest both from the literary and from the historical point of view; but it should be read in the Greek as the Douay version is exceedingly free. For the information this Prologue affords on the formation of the Canon, see *s.v. Canon.*

AUTHOR AND DATE. In the Prologue we are told that the work was that of 'my grandfather Jesus,' and in l. 29 (D.V.), the author is termed 'Jesus the son of Sirach' (in Greek 'son of Sirach, son of Eleazar, of Jerusalem'); the recently discovered Hebrew calls him 'Simon, son of Jesus, son of Eleazar, son of Sirach.' We gather from xxxiv. 12, and li. 18, that he had travelled much; from li. 4, that he had gone through many trials; possibly, too, from xxxv. 22-36, that in his time the Jews had experienced a great deal of persecution. From his not infrequent reference to physicians and medicines, some have fancied that he was a doctor, while from his enthusiastic description of Simon the High-Priest, in ch. l., it has been suggested that he was a priest himself.

His work was composed in Hebrew, and, according to the Prologue, was translated into Greek by his grandson whose name we do not know. The same Prologue tells us that the author was led by his life-long study of the 'Law, the Prophets, and the other Books,' to write something himself; that he was steeped in the Hebrew Scriptures is evident from a comparison of the Hebrew text with the rest of the Scriptures, it has been computed that there are at least 367 parallels between the work of Ben-Sira and the Hebrew Bible.

DATE. The translator tells us that he 'came into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth year under *(epi)* Euergetes the king.' It seems certain that the expression '*under* Euergetes' should be rendered 'in the eight and thirtieth year of Euergetes'; this use of *epi* is found in an inscription from the Acropolis of the

third century B.C., and also on the famous Rosetta stone, *cf.* Deissmann *Bible Studies*, Eng. Tr. p. 340. There were two Ptolemies surnamed Euergetes, but only Ptolemy Euergetes II. reigned so long that we can speak of his thirty-eighth year, he was assumed to the throne in B.C. 170, became sole ruler in 146, and died 117; hence his thirty-eighth year will be 132 B.C.; it is interesting to note that in the inscriptions of the Temple at Edfu we find mention of his 28th, 30th, 46th, 48th, and 54th years. If, however, the grandson came into Egypt in 132 B.C. and lived there—as he says he did—some time before undertaking the work of translation, it will follow that the High-Priest Simon who is mentioned in ch. l. cannot be Simon I. as used to be thought, for he was High-Priest from B.C. 310-291; hence it must be Simon II. who is referred to, he exercised the office from 219-199 B.C. This will enable us to refer the composition of the original work to about 180 B.C., and its translation into Greek to about 120 B.C.

THE TEXT. The Hebrew text was known to St. Jerome, it still existed in the tenth century for Saadia the Gaon mentions it, and it was certainly known to the Rabbinical writers of the Middle Ages. It was not, however, till 1896, that any fragments of it were unearthed, and between that date and 1900 large portions have been discovered so that now we are in possession of the Hebrew of chs. iii. 6–xvi. 26; xxx. 11–xxxiii. 3; xxv. 9–xxxviii. 27; xxxix. 15–li. 30. Portions of these are in duplicate, and we thus have a convenient means of testing their value.

The Greek Text differs considerably in the various Codices, but in all of them a remarkable phenomenon is to be noted: they all, without exception, pass from xxx. 34 to xxxiii. 13b, at which point they resume the passage omitted above. This fact is instructive, for it proves that, in spite of their many divergences all these Greek MSS. were ultimately derived from one archetype. This fact also serves to show us the high value which is to be attributed to the Old Latin text preserved in our Vulgate, for it has retained the correct order.

The Latin Text is the Old Latin, *q.v.*; it was revised by St. Jerome, not translated, he says 'In Ecclesiastico calamo temperavi' *(Praef. in Libros Salomonis).* It seems perfectly clear that it was made from the Greek, the presence of a number of purely Greek words attests this; at the same time it is hard to see from what Greek text it was made as the Latin differs considerably at times from the Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew texts, e.g. xviii. 32, and xxx. 24, are only to be found in the Latin text. It is possible, however, that the assimilation of the Latin to the Hebrew, which certainly took place at some later period, may have included the correction of the misplacement referred to above.

THE RELATIVE VALUE OF THE HEBREW AND THE VERSIONS. Though the discovery of the Hebrew text was an undoubted gain, it would be a mistake to suppose that we have in it the original and authentic text. The MSS. recovered belong only to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., and where they exist in duplicate they vary from one another. Hence, while taking full advantage of the help afforded by this most timely discovery, prudent investigators will learn, like St. Jerome, 'calamo temperare' till further discoveries throw more light on the question.

DOCTRINAL TEACHING. Ecclesiasticus is sometimes termed by the Fathers, 'All-Virtuous Wisdom,' and this title is well deserved. In addition, however, to teaching on the virtues and vices, certain doctrinal points stand out pre-eminently:

(a) God's works, xvi. 16-22; xviii. 1-8; xlii-xliii.37.
(b) God's justice, xvi. 2-15.
(c) God's mercy, xvii. 20-29.
(d) Fear of God, i. 19-40.
(e) Creation of man, xvii. 1-15.
(f) The nothingness of man, xviii. 7-8; xl. 1-15.
(g) Original sin, xxv. 33.

CANONICITY. Since Ecclesiasticus did not occur in Hebrew, it was, with the rest of the Deuterocanonical Books, rejected from the Canon by the Reformers.

But, leaving on one side the authority of the Church, its claim to canonicity is clear.

(a) *Its use in N.T.* cf. Jas. i. 19 and Ecclus v. 13; I. Tim. vi. 9, and Ecclus. xi. 10; Luke xii. 19, and Ecclus. xi. 18-19; also Luke xvi. 19, and Ecclus. xxix. 15; and many other passages where the language of this Book is reflected by the inspired writers.

(b) *Its use by the Apostolic Fathers.* In *Ep. Barnabas* xix. 20, *Didache* iii., and *Apost. Constit.* vii. 11, we have a quotation of Ecclus. iv. 31. Precise quotations are wanting as a rule, but "Early Christian writers made such extensive use of Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch that they appear more familiar with them than with several Books of the New Testament"—Nestle in Hastings' *Dict. Bible, s.v. Sirach.* After the sub-Apostolic age we find the book freely quoted in the *African Church* by Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Optatus, and Lactantius; in *Gaul* by St. Hilary; in *Italy* by St. Hippolytus and St. Ambrose; in *Africa*, again, St. Augustine, after giving in his *Speculum*, excerpts from the Books of the Hebrew Canon, says: "Neither should we omit those books which were written before the coming of Our Saviour, which the Jews indeed did not receive but which the Church of that same Saviour does receive; among these books are two which by many are attributed to Solomon, by reason, so it seems to me, of a certain similarity which they have to his writings; yet learned men do not hesitate to say that Solomon wrote them not. We do not indeed know who wrote the Book called Wisdom, but it is clear to all who have read the whole of it that the second book, which we call Ecclesiasticus, was written by one Jesus, termed 'of Sirach'."

For the Church's attitude towards these Books which are outside the Jewish Canon see the article "*Canon*" *s.v. Deuterocanonica.*

CHAPTER IX

THE PROPHETIC BOOKS

ON THE PROPHETS IN GENERAL.

(Qui locutus est per Prophetas.)

The title 'Prophet' corresponds to the Hebrew *Nabi*, the Greek *Prophetes*. To our minds 'prophecy' generally signifies 'prediction,' hence the earlier derivations, either from *Pro* and *Phaino* with the meaning: *to manifest beforehand*, or from *Pro* and *Phemi*, *to declare beforehand*. These derivations are etymologically doubtful, they contain, however, a great truth, for the predictive element in prophecy is its distinctive feature; but it is more probable that while the derivation from *Pro* and *Phemi* is correct, we ought not to regard the preposition *Pro* as signifying time so much as *vice* in the sense of *proxy*. This meaning is demanded, not only by such passages as Ex. iv. 16, and vii. 1, but also by the way in which the Prophets themselves depict their office. Thus in Deut. xviii. 16-19, the Prophet is essentially one who is raised up to *take the place of God* as regards the people; he is one to whom *God speaks* directly, Nbs. xii. 2; he is one who is '*sent*,' Is. vi. 9, Jer. xxvi. 15; he is even called the '*messenger*,' Is. xliv. 26, Agg. i. 13, Mal. iii. 1; hence the titles 'Man of God,' I. Sam. ix. 6, etc., 'Servant of God,' IV. Kgs. ix. 7; 'interpreter,' according to the Hebrew text of Is. xliii. 27. In Jer. xxiii. 22, and in Job xv. 8, it is implied that the Prophet 'stands

in the counsel of God,' and in Is. xxx. 2, that the Prophet is the 'mouth' of God.

Familiarity with the well-known Prophets whose writings have come down to us should not blind us to the fact that the prophetic gift is presented to us as at least as old as the Hebrew race. Thus Abraham is called a 'Prophet,' Gen. xx. 7, and is depicted as therefore 'praying' for those who offend God; similarly, Moses prophesies, Deut. xviii. 15-19; a 'prophet' is sent to the children of Israel in the days of the Judges, and he claims to speak in the name of the Lord, Jud. vi. 8. Indeed the Hebrew word *Nabi* is doubtless the same as the perhaps older Assyrian 'Nebo,' the name of a deity, and is radically one with the verb *nabu*, which means 'to declare'; this same meaning is probably to be given also to the Hebrew root, though the sense of 'to bubble up' has long been in possession. Apropos of this word we have in I. Sam. ix. 9, the interesting note 'he that is now called a Prophet *(Nabi)* in time past was called a Seer *(ro'eh)*; we find this term adhered to in the case of Gad. I. Paral. xxix. 29, in the Douay version, but the Hebrew word is different.

SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS. Bands of 'Prophets' are referred to more than once, e.g. I. Sam. x. 5, 10; their homes are mentioned as at Ramah, xix. 18, at Bethel, IV. Kgs. ii. 3, at Jericho, ii. 5, and at Gilgal, iv. 38. We also read of 'sons of the Prophets,' vi. 1, etc. But while we may regard these 'schools' as training places for men who were to occupy a peculiar place in the economy of the Theocracy, we must not imagine that the fact of living in such communities necessarily involved the possession of the prophetic gift, still less that it gave any exclusive right to it. Thus Amos, vii. 14, says: 'I am not a prophet, nor am I the son of a prophet,' meaning thereby that he was chosen for his high office independently of any previous preparation for the post. It is probably to these 'Schools' that we must trace the existence of the 'False Prophets,' who play so prominent a part even in the earlier history of the kings, cf. III. Kgs. xxii. 6, etc. Trained in these schools, these men had the whole external technique of the Prophet's profes-

sion—if we may so term it—at their fingers' ends, but they lacked what was the essential, i.e. mission from God, cf. Jer. xxiii. 21, Ez. xiii. 6-7; the whole of Jer. xxiii. should be studied as showing the attitude he adopted towards the 'false Prophets.' The true Prophet is depicted in the words of Micheas iii. 8, and Amos iii. 7.

In the time of the kings we find the Prophets occupying positions of trust in the court, they interfere directly in the politics of the time, they are court-recorders and chroniclers, and it is to their writings that we are indebted for the annals of the kingdom, see the references in Chronicles to the records of each king; it is surprising to find even Isaias occupying a similar position, cf. II. Paral. xxxii. 32, where the *et* of the Vulgate is wrong. But in addition to these Prophets who filled the rôle of public men we find others who seem to have shrunk from the court, but who yet occupied a place in the public estimation such as was accorded to none save Isaias; Elias 'stood up as a fire and his word burnt as a torch'; while of Eliseus, who anointed two kings at the bidding of Elias, it is said that 'he feared not the prince, and no man was more powerful than he,' Ecclus. xlviii. 1, 13.

THE WRITING PROPHETS. It is often remarked that we have no trace of any writings due to Prophets earlier than the eighth century B.C. Yet this is a misleading statement; as we have already seen, the court-Prophets were responsible for the compilation of the annals of the kingdom, and though these annals cannot be called 'predictive,' they are certainly 'Prophetical' in the truest sense of the word, this is shown by the terminology adopted by the Hebrew Bible which regards all the Historical Books as Prophetical. It remains true, however, that it is not till the eighth century that we have written prophecies in the commonly accepted sense of the term. Various explanations of this fact have been put forward: it may, for instance, be the case that during the comparatively peaceful times of David and Solomon, when the Davidic kingdom had as yet shown no sign of decay, and the necessarily spiritual fulfilment of the promises had

not needed to be pointed out, formal predictive prophecies in writing were not called for. However this may be, we cannot regard the appearance of written prophecies as the first step in a new developement, for one of the earliest of the strictly prophetic writings we possess, viz. that of Amos, shows us that in his time Prophecy was no new thing and the committal to writing of such lyrics as his was evidently something well understood. When we read Amos we feel that we are in presence of a fully developed art, and not merely of tentative efforts. We have left to us writings due to seventeen of these Prophets, of whom four, viz. Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, and Daniel, by reason of the greater bulk of their writings which remain, are generally termed the '*Major Prophets*,' though this title was unknown to the Jews. Baruch stands apart as Jeremias' secretary; the remaining twelve are known as the '*Minor Prophets*.' The prophecy of Baruch had no place in the Hebrew Canon, and that of Daniel was not included among the Prophets but found a place among the 'Hagiographa' or 'Sacred Writings,' see *s.v. Canon*. It should be noted that these Prophets were drawn indiscriminately from all classes of society, just as were their predecessors who have not left us any writings. Thus Isaias, and probably Daniel, belonged to the royal stock; Jeremias and Ezechiel were priests; Amos was a shepherd.

While the Prophetic gift must be regarded as identical in the writing and in the non-writing Prophets, there are certain points of difference between them; thus the latter are wonder-workers in a remarkable degree; they predicted events which were to be speedily fulfilled—hence perhaps the fact that they committed nothing to writing; and, most noticeable of all, they do not seem to have produced any directly Messianic Prophecy.

The chronology of the Prophetic writings is a vexed question; but to understand the Prophets the student must have clear ideas of their precise place in history; and conversely, to understand the historical books, full use must be made of the light thrown on them by the Prophetical writings.

A tabulated list of the Prophets whose writings have come down to us will consequently be of use; and, first of all, it will be convenient to group them accord-

ing to the historical periods in which they lived and wrote:

Jonas, Amos, Osee, Isaias, Abdias, Joel, Micheas	may be referred to the *Assyrian* period, *c.* 880-700 B.C.
Nahum, Habacuc, Jeremias, Sophonias, Ezechiel, Daniel	may be assigned to the *Babylonian* and *Exilic* period, *c.* 630-586 B.C.
Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias	may be assigned to the time of the *Restoration*, viz. to the *Persian* period, *c.* 519-516 B.C.

This list may be drawn out in fuller detail as on page 324.

ISAIAS.

Yesha-Yahu, 'Salvation of the Lord.' He is called 'son of Amos,' or more strictly 'Amots,' hence the Prophet Amos and the father of Isaias must not be confused as the names are spelled differently. According to Jewish tradition, Joas, king of Juda, was father of Amasias, who succeeded him, and also of Amos the father of Isaias, hence the tradition that the Prophet was of the royal stock. St. Jerome, *in Is. xx.*, also refers to the tradition that Isaias was slain by Manasses son of Ezechias, and some have thought that his martyrdom is referred to in Heb. xi. 37, 'they were cut assunder.'

The **POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PERIOD** must be grasped if we would understand the prophecies of Isaias. At the time he began to prophesy Juda and Israel, under Azarias (797-747), and Jeroboam II. (823-783), respectively, had enjoyed a long period of peace. This was owing, in part, to the decadence of Assyria, but in 745 Tiglath-Pileser III. had re-

Date	Name	Kings under whom they prophesied.	Peoples to, or against whom, they prophesied more particularly.
Circa B.C.			
800	Abdias.	No Kings mentioned. (Azarias and Jeroboam II. ?)	Edom.
800	Jonas.	No Kings mentioned. (Jeroboam II. IV. Kgs. xiv. 25.)	Ninive.
800	Joel.	(*Same as preceding.*)	Juda.
800-750	Amos.	Azarias and Jeroboam II.	Israel.
790-720	Osee.	Azarias, Joatham, Achaz, Ezechias, and Jeroboam II.	Israel.
750-720	Micheas.	Joatham, Achaz, and Ezechias.	Israel and Juda.
759-699	Isaias.	Azarias, Joatham, Achaz, and Ezechias.	Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia.
640	Nahum.	No Kings mentioned. (? Manasses-Josias.)	Ninive.
640	Habacuc.	(? *Same as preceding.*)	The Chaldeans.
640	Sophonias.	Josias.	Jerusalem.
628-585	Jeremias.	Josias, Joakim, and Sedecias.	Jerusalem and the Chaldeans.
595-574	Ezechiel.	Joachin.	To the Captives by the R. Chobar.
606-534	Daniel.	Joakim and Nebuchodonosor II.	
519 (the sixth month)	Aggeus.	Darius the Great.	To Zorobabel and Josue, the leaders of those who returned from Babylon.
519 (the eighth month)	Zacharias.	Darius the Great.	To those returning from Babylon.
450 (?)	Malachias.		To the Priesthood in Jerusalem.

suscitated that country and had entered on a career of conquest which was to have baneful effects on Palestine. On the death of Zacharias—the last of the stock of Jehu—a series of revolutions took place in the northern kingdom; it was at this time that Tiglath-Pileser invaded the northern districts of Galilee and carried away the tribe of Nephtali (IV. Kgs. xv. 29). It seems probable that Samaria and Syria had become vassals to the Assyrian but had leagued together to throw off his yoke. We cannot be certain whether they tried to induce Achaz (IV. Kgs. xvi. 5) to join them, but a little later we find them united in an attempt to dethrone Achaz and put Tabeel in his place, Is. vii. Isaias pleads against this resistance to Assyria; its king is the 'hammer of the nations' and divinely appointed to purify them, vii. 17-25. Achaz, however, repudiated the advice and did what was worse than oppose the Assyrian, he summoned him to his aid, IV. Kgs. xvi. 7. The result was the fall of Damascus in 732, and the destruction of Samaria in 721. Egypt, which viewed with alarm the advance of the Assyrian power, was really the arm on which the whole of Palestine and Syria relied at this crisis, and the key to the earlier chapters of Isaias is his strenuous opposition to an alliance with Egypt: 'Egypt is man and not God,' xxxi. 3. This was proved when, in 720 B.C., Assyria under Sargon defeated Egypt at Raphia on the border. Three years later we find Sargon again in the west, and this time it was the turn of Philistia; while Azotus was stormed in 711, according to the Assyrian annals, cf. Is. xx. 1; the same annals tell us, under the year 711, of renewed revolts of Juda, Edom, Moab, and Philistia, but we know nothing of any invasion of Palestine at this time. Meanwhile hope for Palestine arose in an unexpected quarter; Merodach-Baladan, king of the Chaldeans, had been a constant menace to Assyria, and in 712 he sent an embassy to Ezechias congratulating him on his recovery from sickness. This embassy, and the reception accorded it by Ezechias, had important results; indeed in a sense it serves as the key to the arrangement of Isaias' prophecies, as we shall see later. In 705, Sennacherib came to the throne, and shortly after this the Ethiopians, whose king Tirhaka was one of the most warlike of all the Pharaohs, appear to have sent

an embassy to propose an alliance with Palestine against the dreaded Assyrian, Is. xviii. The geographical position of Palestine, wedged in as it was between the two greatest empires of the day, made it their battle-ground, and each of the contending parties felt that in securing that country as an ally it was making sure of a frontier defence. Hence it came to pass that the Judean court was a seething hot-bed of politics, for its courtiers all saw that they to some extent held in their hands the destinies of the then known world. In spite of Isaias' warnings, Juda appears to have coquetted with Egypt, but the decisive battle of *Eltekeh* in 701 showed the hollowness of trusting in that 'broken reed'—Egypt. The chronological arrangement of the expeditions of Sennacherib against Palestine is difficult to determine, as the Assyrian accounts do not easily harmonise with that given in the Bible, III. Kgs. xviii., Is. xxxvi-vii. It has been suggested that (a) Sennacherib purposely confuses the account in order to cloak his failure; (b) that the Bible combines accounts of two separate invasions; (c) that in the annals of Sennacherib the account is broken off after the first invasion and Ezechias' payment of tribute; this last view is perhaps the best but it must not be forgotten that our information is scanty and that it is wiser to suspend our judgement until further 'finds' in Assyria shall have cleared up the question.

THE PLAN AND DIVISIONS OF THE PROPHECIES. The Prophecies fall into two broad divisions, which have been recognised from the very earliest times, thus:

I-XXXIX. The overthrow of the Assyrians.

XL-LXVI. The redemption from Babylon.

Or again:

I-XXXIX. Threats of divine Justice.

XL-LXVI. Promises of divine mercy.

When we pass from a consideration of the subject-matter to the literary character of the book, we note that, whereas the rest is cast in a poetical frame, chs. xxxvi-xxxix. are in prose and are purely historical, being a repetition of IV. Kgs. xviii. 13–xx. This arrangement allows us to divide the whole into:

I-XXXV. The overthrow of the Assyrians.

XXXVI-XXXVII. An historical retrospect.

XXXVIII-XXXIX. An historical prospect wherein the Prophet looks forward and sees the result of Ezechias' pride in his reception of the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan; the nation shall go into captivity in Babylon.

XL-LXVI. The outcome of that exile in the near, as well as in the distant, future; as God has done to Assyria, so shall He do to Babylon.

The foregoing are only broad general divisions; coming to details we have:

(a) I-VI. Introduction.

i. 2-31. A threat—developed in vii-xxxv.
ii. 1–v. 30. Consolation—developed in xl-lxvi.
vi. The Prophet's inaugural vision.
i. 27 may be termed the key to the whole book; hence the Prophet has been termed by the Rabbinical writers, *the Prophet of the Divine Mercy.*

(b) VII-XII. Prophecies directly against Syria, and thus indirectly against Assyria, whose vassal Syria was. This section has also been called the *Emanuel* section, cf. vii. 14, viii. 10 (Hebrew), xi. 1-10, xii. 6. It contains three distinct prophecies:

(1) vii. 1-25. Achaz seeks Assyrian help but Emmanuel is promised.
(2) viii. 1–ix. 7. Emmanuel's birth.
(3) ix. 6–xii. 6. Emmanuel's glorious kingdom.
The intimate connection between these chapters and chs. xl-lxvi. should be noted. Both treat in the most striking way of the Person of Christ.

(c) XIII-XXVII. Prophecies against various nations. They shall all be destroyed, but a *Remnant* of them all shall share in the glory of the Messias.

i. Against Babylon; xiii. 1–xiv. 27.
ii. „ the Philistines; xiv. 28-32.
iii. „ Moab; xv. 1–xvi. 14.
iv. „ Damascus; xvii. 1-14.
v. „ Ethiopia and Egypt; xviii. 1–xx. 6.
vi. „ Babylon; xxi. 1-10.
vii. „ Duma (Idumaea); xxi. 11-12.

viii. Against Arabia; xxi. 13-16.
ix. „ the 'Valley of Vision' (Jerusalem; xxii. 1-25.
x. „ Tyre; xxiii. 1-18.
xi. The universal judgement; a description of it, xxiv.; its fruits, xxv.; gratitude for it, xxvi.; practical conclusion, xxvi. 20–xxvii. 13.

(d) XXVIII-XXXV. Preparation for the coming of Sennacherib.

xxviii. Samaria shall suffer.
xxix. Jerusalem also.
xxx-xxxi. Especially those who counsel alliance with Egypt.
xxxii. Terrible threats, but intermingled with promises.
xxxiii. Yet woe to the Assyrian, even though he be God's chosen instrument of wrath.
xxxiv. The general destruction of unbelievers.
xxxv. The glory of the redeemed.

(e) XXXVI-XXXIX. The Prose section. This historical section falls into two distinct parts:

(1) xxxvi-xxxvii. The coming of Sennacherib; his destruction.

(2) xxxviii-xxxix. The illness of Ezechias, his miraculous recovery; the consequent visit of ambassadors sent by Merodach-Baladan; Ezechias' complacency in the prospect of such an alliance; he shows them all his treasures. The consequent prophecy that all these same treasures should one day be carried away to Babylon.

The first portion, xxxvi-vii., serves as a species of climax to the preceding prophecies; God had fulfilled His promises by destroying Sennacherib; the latter portion, xxxviii-ix., serves to introduce the prophecies, xl-lxvi., concerning the ultimate redemption from Babylon.

But the arrangement of these two portions of this historical section presents certain difficulties. First of all: which event preceded in order of time, the illness of Sennacherib and the consequent arrival of the ambassadors from Merodach-Baladan; or the coming of Sen-

nacherib, and his defeat? According to IV. Kgs. xviii. 13, Sennacherib came up 'in the fourteenth year of king Ezechias,' so also in Isaias xxxvi. 1; not so, however, in II. Paral. xxxii. 1, where no indication of time is given. Now according to the received chronology, which at this point does not appear to conflict with that furnished by the Monuments, the fourteenth year of Ezechias would fall in 712 B.C.; but Sennacherib did not come to the throne until 705. On the other hand, the fourteenth year of Ezechias would mark the date of his illness, for he received a promise that he should live fifteen years longer, as he actually did, dying in B.C. 697. Moreover, the Assyrian records attribute Sennacherib's campaign against Palestine to the year 701. Hence it has been suggested that the words 'in the fourteenth year of Ezechias' have been misplaced in the Biblical records and really belong to the account in Isaias xxxviii. 1, of Ezechias' sickness which actually did fall in that year. But then a further difficulty at once presents itself: how comes it that in Isaias the order of these two events has been transposed? The answer may be that in this prose section Isaias has put the account of the coming of Sennacherib first because that event marked the sequel to the previous prophecies and was therefore their natural complement; hence this portion, xxxvi-vii., has been termed 'the historical retrospect' as though the Prophet would say: 'See what God promised and see how fully He executed it.' He then gives us, out of its due order, the account of the coming of the Chaldean ambassadors, because, though this event had taken place some fourteen years before it, yet in the Prophet's plan it served to introduce the rest of his prophecy—as indeed it did introduce the exile and was its cause. We shall return later to this remarkable inversion of order.

(f) XL-LXVI. After the threat of exile, the Prophet passes at once to the Redemption from it; he nowhere talks of the fulfilment of the threat, he supposes it. This section may be conveniently divided into three parts, which seem to be purposely distinguished from one another by the refrain 'there is no peace for the wicked saith the Lord,' xlviii. 22; lvii. 21; and in extended form, lxvi. 24. It is possible, too, that the

respective themes of each of these divisions are indicated in the opening words, xl. 2, 'her evil is come to an end,' xl-xlviii.; 'her iniquity is forgiven,' xlix-lvii.; 'she hath received of the hand of the Lord double for all her sins,' lviii-lxvi. The theme throughout is 'the Redemption'; but it is a two-fold redemption which the Prophet has in mind: the material one from Babylon, the spiritual one—of which the former was but a figure—from the power of sin. Hence there are two redeemers: Cyrus, divinely chosen and spoken of by name long before his birth, xliv. 28–xlv. 3; and the Redeemer from sin, viz. the Messias. The difficulty of these chapters consists in great part in the way in which the Prophet passes over insensibly from the type to the anti-type, from the material to the spiritual. But we may safely consider chs. xl-xlviii. as treating of the material redemption and redeemer, i.e. of release from Babylon by the aid of Cyrus; chs. xlix-lvii. as treating expressly and directly of the Redeemer from sin, i.e. Christ; while chs. lviii-lxvi. treat of the final kingdom of Christ. The difficulty is further enhanced by the use made of the term 'Servant of the Lord.' This was the title of the Theocratic king and also of the nation considered in the abstract: had Israel remained faithful they would never have needed redemption; hence the nation is spoken of as 'the Servant of the Lord,' as being adopted and as having a mission entrusted to it as the means established by God for the salvation of the world. Cyrus, too, in the same way is spoken of as 'the Servant of the Lord,' *i.e.* as being His chosen instrument for the redemption of Israel from Babylon. But in a far higher sense is the Messias so spoken of; He is no merely ideal figure but a real Person Who is to do what Israel has failed to do.

The preceding analysis will enable us to arrive at a just idea of the way in which the Book grew into its present shape. The 'occasional' character of many of the prophecies, those against the various nations, for example, shows that they were delivered on different occasions; but the way in which—as now arranged—they all conspire to a definite end shows that they have been edited in order to bring out this object in clear fashion. Thus we should say that chs. xl-lxvi.

are really the goal of the whole Book. The Prophet foresaw the Babylonian Captivity and he wished to prepare the people for it, and above all for the idea of ultimate redemption—not only from it—but from what it prefigured, viz. sin. The key-note of all is 'trust in God'; this trust they ought to have if they will but reflect on His faithfulness to His promises in the past as shown in the salvation of Israel from Syria and Assyria. A far greater woe is at hand, but they must trust, and they have good reasons to do so.

THE INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK. The fact that the Book falls naturally into distinct parts has always been recognised, but it is only of recent years that it has been dissected into various lifeless members by the critical scalpel. Koppe in 1779 first questioned the Isaianic authorship of ch. 1, and he almost immediately put forward the view that the whole section xl-lxvi. was not really the work of the Isaias who was contemporary with Ezechias. Subsequent criticism has proceeded so far in its ruthless application of its own literary canons that now not more than a sixth part of the whole is allowed to be by the Isaias of the eighth century B.C. Thus, besides chs. xl-lxvi., we are told that we ought to refer to some 'Great Unknown,' xiii-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxiv-xxvii., xxxiv-xxxv. It is not easy to understand the principles which have led critics thus to reject so much of the Book. It used to be a dislike to the idea of such astounding prophecies as those contained in the latter part of the Book, especially the naming of Cyrus close upon one hundred and fifty years before his birth. But modern critics are not so much influenced by this consideration as by certain literary canons which they regard as established; it is evident, too, that the reference of chs. xl-lxvi. to an author contemporary with the Babylonian Captivity will not make the allusions to the Passion of Our Lord in liii. any the less prophetic. The difficulty however which, from the point of view of Prophecy, has the most weight with critics may be expressed as follows: Prophecy connotes vision of the future, and we have no right to assign limits to the future which may be laid bare to the prophetic gaze; there is, in other words, no *terminus ad quem* for the

Prophet. But the Prophet must, so it is maintained, take his stand in the present, i.e. he must speak to his contemporaries in terms derived from their own surroundings. This, it is maintained, Isaias, or the author of chs. xl-lxvi., does not do, for he speaks to the Hebrews of 700 B.C. as though the exile were already an accomplished fact, whereas in the time of Ezechias it was still in the remote future. What could be the gain, it is asked, from such prophecy? It meant nothing to Isaias' hearers, they could not have been content to take the Captivity for granted as he did, and they might well have been excused had they shrugged their shoulders and said that it might concern their posterity but certainly not themselves! Moreover, it is urged, the prophecy itself was couched in terms unintelligible to the Hebrews of the eighth century B.C. What did they know of the Chaldeans or the Medes? These nations only came into prominence, the one towards the close of the eighth century, the other towards the close of the sixth. They could consequently have meant nothing to the Hebrews of Ezechias' time. If we could imagine Blessed Thomas More prophesying in the time of Henry VIII. an invasion of England by the Japanese—or rather, to make the parallel complete, a redemption of England from the Japanese—we should have a parallel to the prophecies contained in Isaias xl-lxvi.

This difficulty is exaggerated. In the first place the idea of captivity was no new one to the Hebrews of those days, it had been foretold even in Deut. xxviii., they had seen the inhabitants of Samaria carried away by Sargon, and they knew that such was the custom of the Assyrians. Another Prophet, Micheas, iv. 8, had foretold the same thing; and he was practically Isaias' contemporary: 'thou...shalt come even to Babylon, there thou shalt be delivered; there the Lord will redeem thee out of the hand of thine enemies.' Secondly, while it is true that the references to the Medes and Chaldeans surprise us, we have no solid ground for supposing that they were so absolutely unknown to the Hebrews of the eighth century B.C. The Medes are mentioned in Gen. x. 2. In an inscription of Adad-nirari III., referring to his campaign in 803, he mentions the Medes; so also does

Tiglath-Pileser III. under the year 739. The same must be said of the Chaldeans who are mentioned in the inscription of Adad-nirari above referred to—'all the kings of the land of Kaldu did homage.' Lastly, it should be remembered that Prophecy is for all time and not solely for the immediate present, i.e. it affects all subsequent peoples as well as those to whom the message is primarily delivered; and though we should naturally expect it to be intelligible, at least in its main outlines, to those who first heard it, and whom it was primarily intended to profit, we cannot on any *à priori* grounds deny the possibility of a Prophecy which was unintelligible, at least in some of its aspects, to those who were contemporary with its delivery.

The Philological argument has been much insisted on by certain critics. It is maintained that there is a veritable gulf between the vocabulary of chs. i-xxxix. and chs. xl-lxvi. But here again the argument is precarious and has been exaggerated. If we go by such things as *hapax legomena*, viz. expressions only occurring once, we find ourselves in difficulties. In chs. i-xii. it is computed that there are at least seventy-eight expressions which are not found in the rest of Isaias. In chs. xvii-xx., xxi. 11–xxiii. 18; xxviii-xxxiii., which critics commonly allow to be the genuine work of Isaias, eighty similar *hapax legomena* have been counted. When we turn to chs. xl-lxvi., which all critics reject, we find that there are only about eighty *hapax legomena* in all these twenty-six chapters; while in ch. i. there are forty-five words or forms which can only be paralleled in the parts rejected on the score that they are not by Isaias. It is impossible here to do more than summarise the arguments adduced in favour of the integrity of the whole Prophecy.

(a) *Ecclesiasticus* xlviii. 25-28, thus speaks of Isaias:

> "Ezechias did that which pleased God and walked valiantly in the way of David his father, which Isaias the great Prophet and faithful in the sight of God had commanded him.
>
> In his (Isaias') days the sun went backward and he lengthened the king's life.
>
> With a great spirit he saw the things that are to

come to pass at last and comforted the mourners in Sion. For ever he showed what should come to pass and secret things before they came."

These words are remarkable, and they are inspired. They single out as Isaias' claim to our admiration just those very points which have led modern critics to reject his authorship of the parts in question.

(b) *Josephus*, Ant. XI. 1, 2, says that Cyrus read the passage in Isaias which described his own coming, and was so struck by the fact of its being foretold one hundred and forty years before his time, that he decided to let the Jews return.*

(c) The whole force of chs. xl-lxvi. lies in their being *prophetic*, cf. xli. 23, xlii. 9, xlv. 21, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 3, 5, 16. And it is perfectly impossible to say, as has been maintained, that in these verses God refers to the prophecies about Cyrus as already fulfilled; a cursory examination of them will show beyond doubt that they refer to Sennacherib and Sargon.

(d) A comparison of *Cyrus' Decree*, I. Esdras i. 1-2, with Isaias xliv. 27-28, xlv. 1-3, will show that the Decree may well have been formed with reference to the prophecy; this would tend to confirm Josephus' statement given above. It may be remarked, too, that the stress laid on the *'Naming' of Cyrus* beforehand would be perfectly ludicrous in a writer who actually knew him—even though, as some have suggested, he alone foresaw how wonderful his career was to be.

(e) In chs. i-xxxix. we have *punning allusions* to the name of Ezechias, cf. xxxv. 4, and xxxix. 1; it is remarkable that the same play upon his name, and upon the name of his Queen Hephsibah, is of frequent occurrence in chs. xl-lxvi., cf. xli. 6, 7, 9, xlii. 6,

* The famous cylinder of Cyrus, found at Babylon, will serve as the best commentary on this statement of Josephus: L. 12. "He (Marduk) sought out an upright Prince after His own heart, whom He took by His hand, Cyrus, king of the city of Ansan; He named his name; to the kingdom of the whole world He called him by name," cf. Isaias xliv. 26-28; xlv. 1, 4. It is assuredly the perversity of criticism to say, as does Jensen: "The impression given is almost as though the author of the prophetic passage must have known the text of the Cyrus cylinder" (*The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East;* Engl. transl., Vol. II., p. 232).

xlv. 1, lvi. 2, 4, 6, lxii. 4-5; in this latter place occurs the reference to Hephsibah but it is obscured in the Douay version by the translation of her name into 'My pleasure in her'; cf. too, II. Paral. xxix. 3, 34; xxxii. 5, 7.

(f) Lastly, if chs. xl-lxvi. are cut away we are unable to explain the inversion of order dwelt on above and the whole prophecy thus becomes disjointed. The portion excised, too, becomes unintelligible.

THE STYLE OF ISAIAS. It would be impossible to exaggerate the beauty as well as the variety of Isaias' style. Every known figure of speech can be illustrated from his writings, and many of his expressions have become common-places of the language. *Proverbial expressions:* iii. 18, v. 18, xiv. 1, 9, xxv. 8, xxvi. 3, 10, 20, xl. 6, etc.; *vivid figures:* i. 31, x. 14, xiii. 19-22, xiv. 23, xvii. 6, xxiv. 13, xxviii. 18, xxix. 8, etc.; he has peculiar *refrains:* v. 25, ix. 12, xvii. 21, xlviii. 22, lvii. 21, lxvi. 24; he uses *parables:* v. 1-7, xiv. 4; *personifications:* li. 5-10, lii. 10, liii. 1, xxvii. 1; the following—among a crowd of others—may be indicated as specimens of the *sublimity* of his style: xiv. 4-21, xxiii. 16-18, xxxiv. 1-17, xxxv.; note also the remarkable *play upon words:* xlvi. 2-7, lxiii. 9; the following constantly recurring expressions should be noted: the need of *trust and hope:* xxvi. 3-4, xxx. 15, xl. 31, lvii. 13; 'waiting for the Lord': viii. 17, xxv. 9, xxvi. 8, xxxiii. 2, lxiv. 4; the 'silence' of God: xlii. 15, lvii. 11, lxv. 6; God 'hides His face': liv. 8, lvii. 17, lix. 2, lxiv. 7; *Canticles* and *prayers* are frequent: xxi., xxv., xxvi., xxxviii. 9-20, xlii. 10-12, xliv. 23, lxi. 10-11, lxiii. 7; for *Prayers* note Israel's confession of sin: lix. 9-16, and the Prayer for the coming of the Redeemer: lxii., lxiii. 15-19, lxiv. 12.

THEOLOGY OF ISAIAS. The glorious vision seen in the temple, vi., had a marvellous influence on the Prophet's presentation of the God of Israel, and the word 'glory' is ever on his lips, ii. 10-21; God is the *Creator,* xliii. 15, xliv. 24, xlv. 12, 18; He is *from everlasting:* xl. 28, xliii. 10-13, xliv. 6; He is 'the *First and the Last,*' xli. 4; He is the *Only God,* xliv. 8, 24, xliii. 10-11, xlv. 5-6, 14-24, xlvi. 9, xlvii. 8, xlviii. 12; He is *Omniscient,* x. 15, xxix. 16, xl.; He

is *Omnipotent*, liv. 16-17; He has absolute *foreknowledge*, xli. 22-26, xlii. 9, xliii. 9, xliv. 7, xlv. 11, 21, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 3-5; hence He has created all things *for Himself:* xliii. 7, 21, 25, xlviii. 9-11; hence, too, He is 'the *Lord of Hosts*': xxii. 12-15, etc.; *the King:* xli. 6, 21, xliii. 15; the *Ruler of all nations:* v. 26-30, vii. 17-20, xlviii. 14; hence, too, His titles: the *Holy One of Israel*, which occurs throughout the whole Book; *the Most High and the Eminent*, xiv. ,14, lvii. 15.

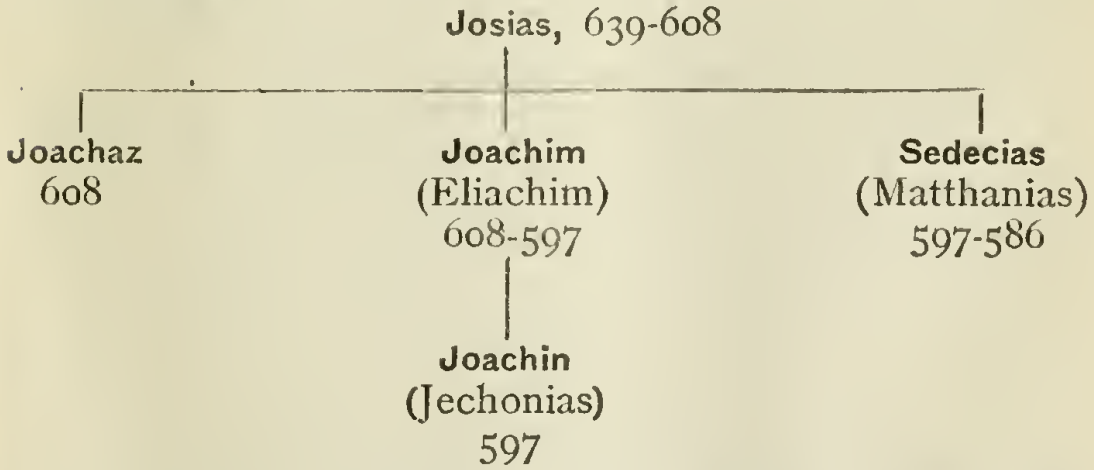
THE REDEMPTION. The sublime idea of God which dominated Isaias finds expression in his declarations concerning the future Redeemer of Israel. Of the Restoration in general he speaks in xliii., xlviii. 20-21, xlix. 17-26, li. 11, lv. 12-13, lvii. 13-21, lix. 17-21, lx., lxv.; *Israel* was the 'chosen servant' who should have wrought the redemption of the Gentiles, xli. 8, xlii. 19-22, xliv. 1, 2, 21, xlv. 4; but Israel was a failure: xliii. 21-28, lxv.; therefore, to bring them back from the captivity which their failure had brought upon them, *Cyrus* is designated and called by name nearly one hundred and fifty years before he was born: xli. 2, 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1, xlvi. 11; but the real Redeemer is *Christ*, Who shall ransom them from the far more grievous bondage of sin: xlii., xlviii-lvii., He is a *Personal Redeemer* and no mere type or figment: xlv. 8, 13, xlviii. 16-17, xlix. 1-22, l. 4-9, lii. 13, liii., lxi., lxiii. 1-6; He is of the stock of *David:* ix. 7, xi. 1, 10, xvi. 5, xxii. 22, xxxvii. 35; His Father is the 'Father' of the redeemed nation: lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8; the people is termed 'My people'; li. 16, lii. 4-6, lxiii. 8, lxiv. 9; and throughout the whole runs the repeated promise that a REMNANT should be saved: e.g. x. 20-23, xi. 11-16, xvii. 14, xix. 25, xxvii. 12-14, xxxvii. 32, lxv. 8-10; lastly, *forgiveness* is promised in fullest measure: i. 18, xliii. 25, xliv. 22, lv. 7, lvii. 15.

JEREMIAS.

In Hebrew *Yirme-Yahu*, or, in an abbreviated form, *Yirme-Yah*, 'Jah (the Lord) is exalted.' He prophesied from the thirteenth year of Josias (639-608), i.e. from 627 B.C., till after the Fall of Jerusalem in 588. When the Chaldeans took the city they treated Jeremias with

the greatest respect and gave him leave either to go to Babylon or to stay in Palestine, chs. xxxix-xl. He chose to remain with the remnant of the Jews in Palestine, but—in spite of his opposition—he was carried by them into Egypt, xliii., where he continued to prophesy, xliii-xliv. According to one tradition he was stoned to death by these same Jews in Egypt; according to another, he was taken to Babylon by Nabuchodonosor when the latter ravaged Egypt in accordance with Jeremias' own prophecy. If the last chapter of IV. Kgs. was written by the Prophet, as many have thought, he may have lived there till the reign of Evil-Merodach, the successor of Nabuchodonosor, in B.C. 562.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION. As in the case of Isaias, it is necessary to grasp the state of affairs in the eastern world if we would understand the prophecies of Jeremias. The following genealogical table will show the relationships of the kings of Juda under whom he prophesied:



The reign of Ezechias in the previous century had been glorious; the Assyrians had been driven back at his prayer, and Israel seemed to have turned to God with their whole hearts. But the long and iniquitous reign of Manasses, 696-641, had undone all the good wrought by his father. Hence the wrath of God was upon the nation, Jer. xv. 1-5; but, as always, He gave them a time for repentance, and raised up the pious king Josias and the prophet Jeremias to warn and instruct the apostate people. From the outset the Prophet knows that the case of Israel is hopeless: "I have

set thee this day," said the Lord, when He gave him his commission, "over the nations and over kingdoms, to root up and to pull down, and to waste and to destroy; and to build and to plant." The situation was complex. Isaias had insisted on the inviolability of God's Temple, xxxvii. 33-35; xxxi. 4; etc., and his prophecies had been fulfilled. Moreover, he had declared that even though the Assyrian was God's chosen instrument of vengeance: yet "Blessed be My people of Egypt, and the work of My hands to the Assyrian, *but Israel is My inheritance.*" When Jeremias began to prophesy, Assyria was but a shadow and the Chaldeans but a name; hence the temptation was great to disregard them both, and fancy that as God had done in the days of Ezechias so would He do now. Hence the fanatical trust which the people reposed in the Temple; as long as that existed there could be no fear for Juda, Jer. vii. and xxvi. In the time of Isaias the people's hopes lay in Egypt, and an active body of counsellors urged an alliance with that country; in the days of Jeremias there seem to have been few active politicians; on the contrary, a spirit of apathetic and blind confidence prevailed. It is this that gives the peculiar tone to Jeremias' prophecies. He sees in the light of God the coming catastrophe, he realises that it is well merited, but he loves his nation with a passionate love and grieves for their blindness. Hence the pathetic prayers which form so striking a feature of the whole book, cf. for example, xiv. 19-22. Always regarded as a figure of Our Lord in his sufferings, he is especially so in the mournful outlook he has upon the Jewish world; we might assign to him as his motto: "If thou also hadst known the things that are to thy peace, but now they are hidden from thine eyes.....because thou hast not known the time of thy visitation."

After the death of Josias in a futile attempt to withstand Pharaoh Nechao in his attack on the Assyrians, events moved on apace. Ninive fell in 606, Nabopolassar inaugurated the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and his son Nabuchodonosor succeeded him in 605; Joachaz, son of Josias, was taken prisoner by Nechao in 608, and his brother Eliachim (Joachim), was set upon the throne by the Egyptian monarch, only, how-

ever, to fall into the hands of the Babylonians shortly after; after three years of vassalage, he rebelled and was punished by an incursion of the Syrians, Ammonites, Moabites, and Chaldees. Egypt was powerless, being crushed by the Babylonians, and when in 597 Nabuchodonosor came up against Joachin son of Joachim and carried him away to Babylon, there was no one to say him nay. The vessels of the Temple were carried off, and an immense number of the nobility went with them into exile. Sedecias (Matthanias) was placed upon the throne by the Babylonians, but foolishly rebelled; hence, in the ninth year of his reign, 588, began the final siege of the city by the forces of Nabuchodonosor, and in the fifth month of his eleventh year it fell. Sedecias fled, but was captured, and the last king of the stock of David was blinded by the king of Babylon after his sons had been put to death before his eyes.

During all these stirring times, Jeremias had not been silent. When Ninive fell in 606, he foretold that the nation of the Jews would go into captivity in Babylon and would remain there seventy years—and this in spite of the fact that, only a few years before, an Egyptian king had claimed suzerainty over Palestine by dethroning one king and setting up another. These *seventy years* were thus practically contemporary with the duration of the Neo-Babylonian Empire which—inaugurated after the fall of Ninive—succumbed in 538 to the forces of Cyrus, the Jews being allowed to return in 536 B.C.

THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAS. Various divisions of the book have been proposed. Thus a broad division might be made as follows:

I-XLV. Prophecies relating to home affairs.

XLVI-LI. Those relating to foreign affairs.

LII. Supplementary historical chapter.

Such a division—though convenient—is misleading. A more practical one would be:

I-III. 5. Introduction.

III. 6–XXIV. Prophecies and sermons of the time of Josias, i.e. from B.C. 627-608.

XXV. 1-13, XLVI-LI., XXV. 15-23, Prophecies against the nations.

XXVI-XXXVIII. Prophecies subsequent to the time of Josias, i.e. from B.C. 608-586.

XXXIX. An epilogue; the actual capture of the city.

XL-XLV. LII. An appendix, treating of the events which followed upon the fall of the city.

It will be noticed that we have inserted chs. xlv-li. between verses 13 and 15 of ch. xxv. These chapters contain the various prophecies against the nations. In Isaias and Ezechiel similar prophecies against the Gentiles occur in the centre of the book, viz. Isaias xiii-xxviii.; Ezechiel xxv-xxxii. Ch. xxv. appears to give a summary view of these prophecies, and it seems natural to assign them a place in this chapter. This has actually been done by the Greek translators who insert these prophecies between vv. 13 and 15, v. 14 being omitted. The LXX., indeed, presents us with a text of Jeremias which differs remarkably from the present Hebrew text. It is calculated that it is at least one eighth shorter than the Hebrew; this is of interest when we reflect that the Old Latin version was made from it, and was the one used by the Fathers antecedent to St. Jerome. These *omissions* by the LXX. are very striking, we give some of the more remarkable.

x. 5-8, 10; xi. 7-8; xvii. 1-4; xxvii. 13-14, 19-22; xxix. 16-20; xxx. 10-11; xxxiii. 14-26; xxxiv. 11; xxxix. 4-13; li. 44-49; etc. Nor are there merely omissions; a comparison of the Greek and Hebrew (Vulgate) texts of ch. xxvii. will show that nearly every verse has been cut down in a systematic fashion. Thus nearly 2700 words of the original text are omitted in the Greek version. Such a fact calls for explanation, and various theories have been put forward to account for it. Before, however, detailing some of these theories, it will be well to notice certain difficulties in the present arrangement of the Hebrew, and therefore of the Vulgate text. These will best appear from an attempt to arrange the prophecies chronologically. As far as can be gathered from the contents

of the various chapters, the prophecies may be divided up as follows:

I-XX. Prophecies in the time of *Josias.*

XXVI. may be referred to the *first* year of *Joachim,* viz. 608; but cf. xxviii. 1, where 'the beginning of the reign of Sedecias' is also termed his 'fourth year.'

XXV. XXXV-VI. XLV-VI. are assigned to the *fourth* year of Joachim, i.e. B.C. 605.

XXI-XXIV. are referred to *Sedecias.*

XXVII. is referred to *Joachim,* but the whole context, cf. vv. 12 and 20, seems to demand that we should read *Sedecias* instead of Joachim.

XXIX-XXXI. are assigned to the *first* year of *Sedecias.*

XXVIII. to his *fourth* year.

XXXII-IV. belong to his *tenth* or *eleventh* year, as also does ch. XXXIX.

This confusion in the chronological arrangement shows us that the book has undergone considerable editing; and this conclusion is fully borne out by the state of the Greek text already referred to. Origen *(Ep. to Africanus)* remarked this long ago: "in Jeremias we found much transposition and alteration of the words of the prophecies." Some have been inclined to regard these differences between the texts as due to the existence of two or more editions of the prophecies; the existence of such 'editions' seems indicated by chs. xxx. 2, xxxvi. 2, 23, and 32. But it seems clear that the changes existing are due to deliberate action on the part of some editor, thus note particularly the variations between the two texts of ch. xxvii. referred to above, and the place assigned in the Hebrew (Vulgate) and Greek texts to the Prophecies against the nations. Hence it seems more in accordance with the facts to allow the existence of two separate editions of the Hebrew text, one of them lying at the base of the Greek translation, the other at the base of the present Massoretic Hebrew text. In confirmation of this it should be noted that the LXX. translation is as a rule exceedingly servile in this book, whence it is legitimate to argue that they translated carefully what

they had before them. It may be convenient to give here the order of the chapters according to the LXX

LXX.		*VULGATE.*
xxxii. 1-24.	=	xxv. 14-38.
xxxiii. 1-6, 13.	=	xxvi. 1–xlvi. 13.
li. 1-35.	=	xliv. 1-30.
xxvi. 1-28.	=	xlvi. 1-28.
xxix. 1-7.	=	xlvii. 1-7.
xxi. 1-44.	=	xlviii. 1-47.
xxx. 1-5.	=	xlix. 1-5.
xxix. 8-23.	=	xlix. 7-22.
xxx. 12-16.	=	xlix. 23-27.
xxx. 6-11.	=	xlix. 28-33.
xxv. 14-18.	=	xlix. 34-39.
xxvii. 1–xxviii. 64.	=	l-li. 64.
lii. 1-34.	=	the same.
i-xxv. 13.	=	the same.

In fine it should be noted that both the Hebrew and the Greek text are cited in N.T.; thus in Matth. ii. 18, we have a citation from xxxi. 15, which only occurs in the Hebrew text; in the Ep. to the Heb. viii. 9, on the contrary, we have a quotation from xxxi. 32, which only occurs in the LXX.

The **STYLE OF JEREMIAS** is marked by abrupt transitions which, while involving a certain ruggedness and unevenness, yet contribute not a little to the charm of his prophecies. We cannot do more here than indicate certain points which it will repay the student to examine.

Symbolic actions: xiii., xviii., xix.

Allusions to the *composition of his prophecies*, xxv. 13, xxx. 2, xxxvi. 2, 32.

The *action of God on the prophets*, xxxvi. 18, xlii. 7.

Symbolic visions: i. 11-18, xxiv. 1-10.

Sudden *changes of the speaker:* iii. 22, xiv. 20-22.

Prayers: the most exquisite prayers are often suddenly interjected into the midst of his discourses, cf. iii. 22-25, xiv. 8-9, xv. 15-18, xvi. 18, xvii. 13-18, xx. 7-18, xxxii. 17-25.

Many of his striking expressions have passed into ordinary speech; cf. such passages as ii. 13, vi. 30, viii. 20, 22, xi. 19, xii. 5, xiii. 23, xx. 14, 18, xxii. 24-30, xxiii. 23-29, xxv. 16, xxix. 12-13, xxxi. 3, 29, xlviii. 44.

The Rabbins called Jeremias *the Prophet of desolation*, but this term only conveys a half truth. It was indeed his mission 'to root up, to pull down, and to destroy,' but no one of the Prophets, not even excepting Isaias, has left us such gems of consolation. Thus the Isaianic doctrine of the '*Remnant*' fills a large place in Jeremias' prophecies: v. 18, vi. 9, ix. 24, xv. 11, xxix. 12, xxx., xxxi., xlii. 19. And though there is no such section as the 'Comfort ye' of Isaias, yet the *doctrine of the Messias* and of a Messianic kingdom is insisted on again and again: iii. 17-19, xiv. 8-9, xvii. 13, 24-26, xxii. 4, xxiii. 5, xxx. 9-24, xxxi. 22, xxxii. 37-44, xxxiii. 6-26, xlvi. 27-28. The references to the *Davidic King* should be noted: xxx. 9, xxxiii. 15, 21; to the *Chosen People:* xxx. 22, xxxi. 1, 7; to the divine *Fatherhood*, iii. 19, xxxi. 9; the existence of a *written law* may be argued from such passages as viii. 8, ix. 13, xviii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxxi. 33.

JEREMIAS AND DEUTERONOMY. The Prophet is steeped in the spirit of Deuteronomy, and its phraseology is often on his lips, cf. for example, vii. 4, xxxii. 34, and compare ii. 6, with Deut. xxxii. 10, v. 15, with Deut. xxviii. 49, vii. 3, with xxviii. 26, etc. Modern critics claim that we have here a proof that Deut. was composed, not merely discovered, in the time of Jeremias, but the fact that it was discovered at that time is quite sufficient explanation of Jeremias' familiarity with Deuteronomy. Indeed the Prophet's familiarity with other portions of the Bible has never received adequate attention from Biblical critics; in the following parallels it is not always easy to say where the priority lies; xxiii. 5-6, and xxxiii. 15, cf. Is. iv. 2, xi. 2; l. and li., cf. Is. xiii. and xlvii.; xlviii., cf. Is. xv.; x. 3-5, cf. Is. xl. 19-20, and xli. 7; xiv. 10, cf. Osee viii. 13; x. 25, cf. Ps. lxxviii. 6; x. 13, cf. Ps. cxxxiv. 7; xlix. 7-16, cf. Abdias 1-8.

LAMENTATIONS.

Qinoth, in the Vulgate 'Threni.' In his Preface to his translation of Jeremias, St. Jerome thus describes the Book of Lamentations: "He (Jeremias) bewailed the ruin of his city in a fourfold alphabet which we have restored to the measure of metre and to verses." For the first four chapters are acrostics, each verse in chs. I., II., and IV., commencing with the consecutive letters of the Hebrew alphabet, as is the case with certain Psalms; ch. III. presents a more complicated acrostic, for each set of three verses begin with a fresh letter of the alphabet. Ch. V. contains twenty-two verses, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, but is not constructed as an acrostic, it is the *Prayer of Jeremias.*

Contents.

i. 1-11. The poet describes the state of the fallen city.

i. 12-22. He weeps over the ruin of Jerusalem.

ii. 1-10. God's destroying wrath is depicted.

ii. 11-22. He is just, therefore the city must repent.

iii. 1-18. Speaking in the person of the outcast people he laments their calamities.

iii. 19-39. He turns himself to God his Redeemer.

iii. 40-6.6 His absolute trust in God.

iv. 1-11. Their sins are the cause of this destruction; how blessed they were before they fell!

iv. 12-22. Yet the Nations—and especially Edom—shall reap their due meed of punishment.

v. 1-22. The Prophet's prayer for his people.

In the Greek text we have a short preface prefixed; it is generally given in the Douay Bibles, but with a note saying that it is no part of Sacred Scripture. It does not appear in the Vulgate. In this preface the received opinion is stated, viz. that these Lamentations were composed by Jeremias after the people had been carried into captivity. But Josephus has preserved another tradition, viz. that the Lamentations were composed by Jeremias after the death of Josias in B.C. 608. This opinion is no doubt based on II. Paral. xxxv. 25, and it has been accepted by some of the Fathers in consequence. But it is clear that the

state of things described in *Lamentations* in no sense accords with the circumstances of Josias' death. That Jeremias was the author can hardly be doubted; the strain throughout is remarkably similar to that of many passages in his prophecy, and many verses in *Lamentations* find their almost exact parallel in the prophecy, e.g. Lam. i. 2, and Jer. xiii. 17; i. 16, and Jer. xiv. 17; cf. also Lam. ii. 18, iii. 14, and Jer. xx. 7; iii. 52-54, and Jer. xxxviii. 6.

PLACE IN THE CANON. *Lamentations* is rarely named in the Ecclesiastical lists, it finds no place, for instance, in those furnished by the Councils of Florence and Trent. In the present printed Hebrew Bibles it is placed among the *Hagiographa* for liturgical reasons; but originally it stood immediately after Jeremias, as Origen, St. Hilary, and St. Jerome, bear witness. The Hebrews counted as many Books of the Bible as there were letters in the Hebrew alphabet, viz. twenty-two; thus St. Jerome says, *Prol. Galeatus:* "So there are twenty-two Books of the Old Law; i.e. five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, nine of the Hagiographa. Some, however, place Ruth and Lamentations among the Hagiographa and account these books as among the number of these latter; and thus they say there are twenty-four Books of the Old Law." It is owing to this custom of attaching *Lamentations* to Jeremias that its name is wanting in some lists.

BARUCH.

This book is an appendix to Jeremias; its sixth chapter does not belong to it but is a separate *Epistle* of Jeremias to the captives going into Babylon. Baruch was the devoted secretary who stood by the Prophet throughout; he it was who wrote the two series of Jeremias' prophecies at the latter's dictation, Jer. xxxvi. 4, 18, 32; he was consoled by the Prophet when in distress, Jer. xlv.; and he ministered to him in prison, xxxii. 16. Josephus, *Ant. X., ix.* 1, says that when Jerusalem was taken, Jeremias 'desired of Nabuzardan that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of

Neri, one of a very eminent family, and exceedingly skilful in the language of his country.'

Contents and Divisions.

A. I. 1-14. Preface: Baruch is described as reading the book (which follows) in the presence of the captives in Babylonia; they are filled with repentance, and send to the temple in Jerusalem the silver vessels which had been taken away; at the same time they ask for prayers and sacrifices from the High-Priest in Jerusalem both for themselves and for Nabuchodonosor, and for Baltassar his son.

B. I. 15–V. 9. The contents of the 'Book.'

i. 15–iii. 8. A prayer of repentance; in it we can trace many parallels to Deut. xxviii., to Jeremias, Daniel, and to Isaias; Dan. ix. should especially be compared.

iii. 9–v. 9. An exhortation to the dispersed Israelites. It contains many parallels to Job, Jeremias, and Proverbs.

C. VI. The Epistle of Jeremias; it should be compared with Isaias, xl-lxvi., and with Ps. cxiii.

These two portions of the Book of Baruch, omitting the Epistle for the present, are of very different character. The prayer of repentance was almost certainly written originally in Hebrew, as perhaps also the second portion and the Epistle. The second portion, iii. 9–v. 9, is in a quite different style; it is highly oratorical, and of very great beauty. The personifications of *Wisdom*, iii. 14-38, and of *Jerusalem*, iv. 8-37, should be especially noted.

THEOLOGY. The terms in which God is addressed are of interest. Thus note, 'the Eternal God,' iv. 7, 10, 14, 22, 35; 'the Everlasting Saviour,' iv. 22; 'the Holy One,' iv. 22, 37, v. 5; 'the Most High,' iv. 20; 'the Maker,' iv. 7; 'the Almighty,' iii. 1; etc. The reference to 'Sheol,' iii. 11, is to be noted, we should hardly expect a book of the later Maccabean period to speak thus of the next world, see *infra*. The most famous text from Baruch is iii. 37; it is quoted as referring to the Messias, by at least thirty Fathers during the first five centuries.

DATE. There is nothing in the language of the book to compel us to assign it to a later date than the time of the Captivity; and though St. Jerome says in his *Preface* to his translation of Jeremias: 'I have omitted the book of Baruch his secretary, the Hebrews neither read it nor possess it,' yet Origen, by using 'obeli' in his Hexaplar text, shows that he had a Hebrew text before him. Indeed there can be but little doubt that the original language was Hebrew; for the former portion of the book, at least, is full of Hebraisms. Modern critics, however, vary in the dates they assign to the book; thus while Ewald attributes it to about the year 320 B.C., others refer it to the year 70 A.D., or shortly after. We have indicated above the reference to the underworld, such a reference seems hardly compatible with a late date.

CANONICITY. Baruch is excluded from the Protestant Canon, but it has always found a place in the Canon of the Catholic Church. In the Latin lists its presence is often not detected because it was grouped together with Jeremias. The same must be said of the *Epistle*, which seems to be referred to in II. Macc. ii. 2. And while, as already said, at least thirty Fathers quote Bar. iii. 37, as a Messianic text, we find Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Athanasius, all including the *Epistle* in the Canon. As an example of St. Jerome's procedure, it should be noted that, while in the *Preface to Jeremias* above quoted he omits Baruch, he elsewhere (*Ep.* lxxvii.), quotes v. 5 simply as 'Baruch' without reservation; cf. also *Ep.* xxxi.; 'Baruch receives an epistle from Jeremias,' words which may refer to Bar. vi., viz. our *Epistle of Jeremias*, though possibly they refer to Jer xxxvi.

EZECHIEL.

The Prophet's name signifies 'God (El) strengthens,' cf. Ezechias, 'the Lord (Yah) strengthens.'

Ezechiel was a priest, he appears to have been carried into captivity with Joachin the son of Joachim son of Josias. He dates his call to the prophetic office 'in the thirteenth year.....the same was the fifth year

of the captivity of king Joachin,' i.e. 592 B.C.; the 'thirteenth year' will presumably denote the age of the Prophet as the time of his call. He was probably born, therefore, a year or two after Jeremias began to prophecy. His wife went with him into captivity, and died in the ninth year of their exile, 588 B.C., xxiv. 18. His last dated prophecy is referred, xxix. 17, to the twenty-seventh year of the exile, 570 B.C.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION. Assyria is no more; from its ashes have sprung the now flourishing Neo-Babylonian Empire and the Empire of the Medes and Persians, though these latter are only to reach their full power at a later period and are then to prove the destruction of the Babylonian Empire. The Jews are vassals of Nabuchodonosor II., he has taken Joachin to Babylon, and in his stead has set up his uncle Matthanias after changing his name to Sedecias, the 'righteousness of God,' instead of the 'gift of God.' But though in a state of vassalage, the kingdom still stands, and Jerusalem has not been destroyed. For the state of feeling in that city itself, we must turn to the prophecies of Jeremias as well as to those of Ezechiel; for the state of mind of the captives in Babylonia, Ezechiel is our sole informant. In Jerusalem a spirit of foolish optimism prevailed; in Babylonia a spirit of profound depression, cf. Ez. viii. 12, ix. 9, for the attitude of the Jews in Jerusalem, and xii. 27, xx. 49, xxxiii. 10, 24, 30-33, for the despondning tone of those in captivity. Isaias had insisted on the inviolability of Sion, and the destruction of Sennacherib had justified his attitude; but none but the most foolish optimist could fail to see that the days of David's city and David's line were numbered. What, then, had become of all the glorious prophecies of Isaias, chs. xl-lxvi.? Ezechiel's mission is to show that God will be faithful in His threats as well as in His promises, and that consequently the city is doomed. But on the other hand, he shows that whereas His threats are for a time, His promises are for eternity, and though the Davidic line has fallen on evil days yet: 'I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even My servant David,' xxxiv. 23. Thus from 592-586 he foretold the destruction of the

city, though even at this period he insists on the doctrine that a remnant shall be saved, e.g. xvii. 22; from the fifth year to the tenth month of the ninth year he foretold the calamity, xxiv. 1; from the tenth month of the twelfth year, xxxiii. 21, he told of the new hope.

Divisions.

There is a remarkable similarity between the arrangement of the prophecies of Ezechiel and those of Isaias. Thus:

I-III. 22. The introductory portion, with an account of the Prophet's inauguration to his office; cf. Isaias i-vi.

III. 23–XXXIX. Preparation for the Messianic Salvation; cf. Isaias vii-xxxvii.

XL-XLVIII. Description of the Messianic Salvation; cf. Isaias xxxviii-lxvi.

And the central portion, iii. 23–xxxix., runs on lines parallel with Isaias vii-xxxvii., thus:

iii. 23–xxiv. 7. Against the Chaldeans, as Is. vii-xii., against the Syrians.

xxv-xxxii. Against the nations, as Is. xiii-xxvii., against the nations.

xxxiii-xxxix. Threats of punishment, mingled with promises of ultimate redemption, as in Is. xxviii-xxxvii., when he is preparing the nation for the coming of Sennacherib.

Fuller Analysis.

A. I-XXIV. Preparatory to the fall of the city.

i-vii. In the *fifth* year, B.C. 592.

i-iii. Introductory, his call, his vision.

iv-vii. Symbolical descriptions of the future fall of the city.

viii-xix. In the *sixth* year, B.C. 591.

viii-xi. He is carried to Jerusalem in spirit; there he witnesses the prevailing idolatry; the Cross, 'Tau,' is marked upon the foreheads of the elect, ix.; his inaugural vision is renewed, x.; the punishment of the presumptuous people, yet a remnant shall be saved, xi.

xii-xix. He is carried back to Babylonia; he foreshows by symbols the captivity of Sedecias, xii.; he argues against the false prophets, xiii.; even Noe, Daniel, and Job would not avail by their prayers to save the people, and this because of their idolatry, xiv.; the people is likened to a lopped branch from a vine—it is fit for nothing but the fire, xv.; the past infidelities of the people are detailed, hence punishment is inevitable; yet: 'I will remember My covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish with thee an everlasting covenant.....and thou shalt know that I am the Lord,' xvi.; a parable of the two eagles, Assyria and Egypt, and their treatment of the vine—Israel; but God Himself will re-plant that same vine, and it shall become a mighty cedar, xvii.; the doctrine of sin, each shall bear his own and not that of his father, xviii., cf. xxxiii.; under the figure of a lioness Juda is depicted; under that of her cubs, Joachaz and Joachin, of whom the former was taken into Egypt, the latter into Babylon, xix.

xx-xxiii. The *seventh* year, B.C. 590.

xx. What God did for the nation in the past, the return they made Him; yet even in spite of this: 'I will accept of thee for an odour of sweetness... and you shall know that I am the Lord when I shall have done well by you for My own Name's sake.'

xxi. The sword against Juda and against Ammon; but the instrument of God's wrath, Babylon, shall ultimately be punished.

xxii. The Princes, the Priests, the Prophets, and the People, have done ill, therefore: 'I will disperse thee among the nations...' but '...I will possess thee in the sight of the Gentiles and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.'

xxiii. The sins of Juda and Israel are depicted in striking terms: 'you shall bear the sins of your idols, and you shall know that I am the Lord.'

xxiv-xxv. In the *ninth* year, B.C. 589-588.

Under the figure of a boiling pot the siege is described; Ezechiel's wife dies, he is forbidden to mourn

for her; he is forewarned that a fugitive from the siege shall come to him with the tidings, cf. xxxiii. 21.

B. XXV-XXXII. Prophecies against the Nations.

xxv. Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia, shall not rejoice over the fall of Jerusalem, for upon them also the scourge shall come.

xxvi-xxviii. In the *eleventh* year, B.C. 586. Prophecies against Tyre and Sidon; Juda shall be redeemed.

xxix-xxx. 19. In the *tenth* year, B.C. 588. The desolation of Egypt, not till after forty years shall it be inhabited, xxix. 17; reference is made to 'the *seven and twentieth* year'; Egypt is given to Nabuchodonosor as wages for his service against Tyre as the instrument of Divine wrath; 'but a horn shall bud forth to Israel,' xxix. 21.

xxx. 20. In the *eleventh* year, B.C. 586, the *first* month; further prophecies against Egypt.

xxxi. In the *eleventh* year, the *third* month; as the Assyrian fell for his pride, so also shall Egypt be brought low; a vivid description—under the figure of a spreading cedar—of the Assyrian in his greatness, yet: 'he went down into hell.'

xxxii. In the *twelfth* year, B.C. 586. A further lamentation over Egypt; a picture of Hades; Assyria, Elam, Mosoch, Tubal, and Edom are all gathered there with Egypt.

C. XXXIII-XLVIII. The Consolation.

xxxiii. The Prophet is reminded that he has been set as a *watchman* over Israel, *cf.* iii. 17-21; the doctrine that each man shall bear his own sin is repeated, *cf.* ch. xvii. The promised 'fugitive,' xxiv. 26-27, arrives 'in the *twelfth* year of our captivity, in the tenth month, on the fifth day of the month,' xxxiii. 21-22; Ezechiel, with a certain air of triumph, says: 'then shall they know that a prophet hath been among them.' The tide has turned, the siege is over, Jerusalem is no more, the vengeance has been taken, it is time to speak of the removal of God's wrath, hence:

xxxiv. A prophecy against the 'Pastors' of Israel who have failed, but: 'I Myself will seek My sheep

and will visit them,' and 'I will raise up for them a bud of renown.'

xxxv. Let not *Edom* rejoice in the downfall of Juda, her turn shall come; cf. xxv. 8-14.

xxxvi. A prophecy against *'the mountains of Israel,'* cf. vi. 3; they have been afflicted but: 'this is the people of the Lord.....I will put a new spirit within you.' Yet the warning is added: 'It is not for your sakes that I will do this.....be confounded and ashamed at your own ways.'

xxxvii. A vision of a *field of dried bones;* the Prophet, by the power of God, causes them to be once more clothed with flesh; so shall it be with Israel, the Schism between Juda and Israel shall be healed: 'they shall be My people and I will be their God, and *My servant David* shall be king over them.'

xxxviii-xxxix. Prophecies against *Gog* and *Magog*, by whom are probably meant the *Scythians* who had overrun Armenia, and had apparently reached as far as Bethsan in the Plain of Esdraelon, *cf.* xxxix. 11, this place was later called Scythopolis. In spite of this scourge: 'I will hide My face no more from them, for I have poured out My spirit upon all the house of Israel.'

xl-xlviii. A vision of future glory. An idealised description of the Temple and its courts as they will be in the days of the Messias; also of the land and its boundaries, of the city and its walls: 'and the name of the city from that day: *the Lord is there.*'

The foregoing analysis will show how just is the title given to Ezechiel in the Talmud—*the Prophet of the Divine Fidelity.* It is interesting, as throwing light upon the aims and ideals of the Prophets, to compare the various titles which they give to God. In Isaias the expression 'Holy One of Israel' is most frequent, it embodies the doctrine for which he strove; it never occurs in Ezechiel who insists rather on the *fidelity* of God, 'the Lord Jehovah' is his usual formula, 'I, Jehovah, have said it*'; 'Ye shall know that I am the Lord.' Again, in Isaias the term 'Lord of Hosts' is frequent; not so in Ezechiel, where it only occurs in xiv. 11, 14. For in truth God was no longer on the side of the armies of Israel, but on those of their

enemies. Even the very names of these two Prophets show forth their different roles: Isaias, 'Salvation of the Lord,' but Ezechiel, 'whom the Lord strengthens.'

THE STYLE OF EZECHIEL. Certain expressions occur very frequently, hence the Prophet has been accused of a certain sameness and monotony, but this hardly seems justified; his language is due to the end he has in view; with hammer-like insistency he repeats his words and his figures till they ring in our ears even as they must have rung in the ears of his fellow-captives. None of the other Prophets has made such use of symbol as Ezechiel. Both Jeremias and, in a lesser degree, Isaias, performed certain symbolical actions with a view to driving home their teaching, but Ezechiel is told to turn nearly every act of his life into a symbol. Many of the commands thus laid upon him must have been revolting to flesh and blood, and must have provoked the scorn of those who witnessed them; indeed it is with a certain pathos that he cries out, xx. 49, 'Ah, ah, ah, O Lord God, they say of me: doth not this man speak by parables!' He was to wear *bonds*, iii. 25; he was to be as one *dumb*, iii. 27; he was to carry on a mimic *siege* of a plan of Jerusalem, iv. 1-3; he was to *sleep* on his *left* side for a certain number of days, iv. 4-5; on his *right* side, iv. 6; he was to *eat* his food by measure, iv. 9-17; he was to cut off his *hair* and perform certain symbolical actions with it, v. 1-4; he was solemnly and publicly to *remove* from his dwelling, and that in a fashion which must have provoked merriment from the bystanders, xii. 3; he was to *eat with haste*, xii. 18; he was not to *mourn* for his wife—an outrage to Jewish sensibilities, xxiv. 18-27; he was to signify the re-union between Juda and Israel by joining together two pieces of *stick*, xxxvii. 16-20, etc. There is no reason to regard these acts as other than realities and as actually performed. But they had an influence on the Prophet's literary methods: he instinctively cast his prophecies into parabolic form and some of these *parables* form the most sublime passages in his book, cf. chs. xxvi-xxviii., the prophecies against Tyre; also xxxii., the laments over Egypt. For other parables cf. chs. xv., xix., xvii., xix., xxiv. The wonderful pas-

sage where the Sword of God's wrath is personified, xxi., should be noted as an example of his dramatic power.

THEOLOGY OF EZECHIEL. From the day of his inaugural vision Isaias is overwhelmed with the 'glory' of God, and that word is constantly on his lips; it is the same with Ezechiel, all through the period of his ministry he never forgets the vision by the Chobar, and with him, too, the 'glory' is a favourite expression. He dwells upon the Omniscience, Omnipotence, and Omnipresence of God; His decrees are absolute He is Lord of all the nations, He is the only God, and He does all things for His own Name's sake, cf. xx. 9, 14, 22, 44, xxxvi. 21-23, xxxix. 7, xliii. 8. We have already referred to the terms in which the Prophet insists on the responsibility of the individual for his own personal sin, this doctrine is given in detail in xviii. and repeated in xxxiii. This doctrine is especially noticeable in view of the fact that the prophecies in general are directed against the nation as a whole: they are 'a provoking house,' ii. 5-6, xii. 2, etc.; they are obstinate in their sin, iii. 5-7, v. 7; they are idolators, vi., viii. 10, xiv. 5-6, xxii. 14, etc.

But side by side with this teaching regarding sin, its enormity, the retribution it will bring, etc., there runs all through Ezechiel's prophecies a golden thread of promise for the future: the *restoration* itself is dwelt upon at great length, xxiv. 11-31, xxxvi. 8-15, xxxix. 22-29; the *Schism* shall be healed, xxxvii. 16-28; a *new heart* shall be given them, xi. 16-20; a *remnant* shall return, xi. 13, 16, xii. 16, xiv. 22, xvi. 60-63, xvii. 22-24, xx. 40, xxii. 15-16; they are called '*My people*,' xi. 20, xiv. 11, xxxvii. 23, xxxviii. 14-15, xxxix. 7; a king of *David's line* is promised them, xxxiv. 23-24, xxxvii. 24-25; even the peculiarly Isaianic expression 'My servant Jacob' is to be found, xxviii. 25.

DANIEL.

Daniel, 'God is Judge,' belonged to the royal stock, i. 3, and was carried into captivity into Babylon by Nabuchodonosor after the siege of Jerusalem undertaken by that king in his third year. In xiii. 14, we

are told that the gift of wisdom was marvellously bestowed upon Daniel when a boy, on occasion of the trial of Susanna; as a youth he gave a marvellous example of faith and trust in God, when he chose to keep the law even at the risk of losing the king's favour, i. 8-16. Coming to the Babylonian court about the year 606, he remained there—or at Susa—till the third year of Cyrus, i.e. about 536 B.C. The following historical notices concerning him are given in the Book of Daniel: he interprets Nabuchodonosor's dream—besides repeating the dream which the king had forgotten, ii.; as a reward he was made Governor over all the Provinces of the Empire, ii. 48, and had a residence assigned him in the royal palace, ii. 49; in the first year of Balthazzar, 555 B.C. (?), he was vouchsafed a wonderful vision relating to the Seleucidan Empire and the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes, vii.; in the third year, 553, of the same king he saw a similar vision relating to the destruction of the Persian Empire at the hands of Alexander the Great, and to the subsequent rise of the Seleucidan Empire and the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes, viii.; he witnessed the fall of Balthazzar, and the capture of the city by Darius the Mede in 538, v.; Darius made him one of the three Princes over the one hundred and twenty Governors whom he had set over the Empire, vi.; at the close of this same chapter we read that 'Daniel continued (better 'prospered,' R.V.) in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian'; in the first year of this same Darius, 538, Daniel 'understood by books' that the close of the seventy years of captivity was at at hand, ix.; in the third year of Cyrus final revelations were made to him concerning the future troubles of the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies—the Romans shall come and put an end to the conflict, x-xii.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL. From what has already been said it will be seen that no chronological order is followed in the presentation of events. But the book falls naturally into two distinct parts, followed by an appendix.

A. I-VI. God's wondrous doings in the Babylonian court through the instrumentality of Daniel and his friends.

B. VII-XII. The wondrous things He will do with other Empires besides that of Babylon.

C. XIII-XIV. An appendix containing the story of Susanna and that of Bel and the Dragon.

Fuller analysis.

A. I-VI. The *marvels* wrought by God in the Persian court.

i. Introductory portion: the fidelity of Daniel and his friends to the law; the wisdom divinely bestowed upon them.

ii-vi. Five events showing God's power even in the courts of foreign kings.

ii. *Nabuchodonosor's* dream which he forgets but which Daniel repeats to him, and which he interprets; the Babylonian kingdoms and those which were to succeed it are represented under the figure of a statue; 'a stone cut out of a mountain—without hands,' shall destroy them and is itself a figure of the kingdom which the God of heaven will set up.

iii. *Nabuchodonosor* sets up a mighty statue and orders all to adore it; Daniel himself appears to have been absent from Babylonia at the time, cf. viii. 2, but his three friends are thrown into the furnace for refusing to obey; they are unharmed, and the king sees one in the likeness of 'the son of God' walking with them in the flames; they sing the Canticle *Benedicite* or 'Song of the Three Children'; they come out from the furnace at the king's bidding and he publishes a decree forbidding blasphemy of the 'Most High God,' for: 'there is no other that can save in this manner.'

iv. *Nabuchodonosor* has another dream which Daniel interprets as signifying that the king will be an outcast from his palace for seven 'times' or—presumably—years, as actually comes to pass.

v. The story of *Balthazzar's* great feast, of his profane use of the sacred vessels taken by his father *(sic)* from Jerusalem; the handwriting appears on the wall and Daniel interprets it; 'that same night' the city was taken and Balthazzar slain. '*Darius the* Mede succeeded to the kingdom, being three score and two years old.'

vi. Daniel is promoted by Darius to high office, but is accused of praying to his God, contrary to a decree which the king has been induced to pass; he is thrown into the lions' den, but is unharmed, whereupon Darius published a decree which is almost verbatim the same as that published by Nabuchodonosor, iii. 99-100.

This portion of the book closes with the words: "Now Daniel prospered in the reign of *Darius* and in the reign of *Cyrus the Persian.*"

B. VII-XII. The *four visions* vouchsafed to Daniel.

vii. In the first year of *Balthazzar:* the vision of four beasts, viz. a lioness, a bear, a leopard, and a terrible beast with ten horns and a little horn in the midst of them; three horns are plucked out, but the little horn has eyes and a mouth. This is followed by a vision of 'The Ancient of Days,' who slays the last-named beast and deprives the other three of power. One 'like the son of man,' is then brought before the 'Ancient of Days,' and is invested with 'glory, and a kingdom.' The vision is then explained to Daniel, but the names of the kingdoms are not given.

viii. In the third year of *Balthazzar* a further vision is vouchsafed; this occurs in Susa in the province of Elam. A ram from the east is overthrown by a goat from the west. From the single great horn of the goat sprang four other horns, and out of one of them a little horn. This latter prospered and 'took away the continual sacrifice.' Gabriel explains that the ram signified the kingdom of the *Medes and Persians*, and the goat the kingdom of the *Greeks* (i.e. Alexander the Great), that out of this latter should spring four kingdoms, and out of one of them 'a king of a shameless face.'

ix. In the first year of *Darius the Mede* Daniel sets himself to pray that the period of *seventy years* assigned by Jeremias for the duration of the exile should be brought to an end; his prayer; Gabriel comes once more and tells him that since he is 'a man of desires' his prayer is heard and 'seventy weeks are shortened upon thy people'; there then

follows the mysterious prophecy concerning the time of the coming of the 'Saint of Saints.'

x-xii. In the third year of *Cyrus* Daniel is again instructed regarding the future of the kingdoms which should spring from the dismembered Empire of Alexander the Great; the wars of the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies are described, and the wickedness of *Antiochus Epiphanes* is dwelt upon; 'but the Romans shall come upon him.'

C. XIII-XIV. *The Appendix.*

xiii. The story of Susanna.

xiv. Daniel's destruction of the priests of Bel and of the dragon; he is cast into the lions' den at the instigation of the priests, but is unharmed; Habacuc the prophet is taken by an angel into the den that he may minister to Daniel's needs; Darius publishes a decree which repeats much of what is found in the decree of Darius, vi. 27, and in that of Nabuchodonosor, iii. 99-100.

The Book of Daniel possesses, in common with that of Esdras, the peculiar feature that large portions of it are written in Chaldaic, while other portions are only existing in Greek; thus:

i. 1–ii. 4a,	=	Hebrew.
ii. 4b–iii. 23,	=	Chaldaic.
iii. 24-90,	=	Greek.
iv. 1–vii. 28,	=	Chaldaic.
viii. 1–xii.,	=	Hebrew.
xiii-xiv.,	=	Greek.

It should be noted, moreover, that neither pure Hebrew, nor pure Chaldaic, nor pure Greek, are to be found in the book; the Hebrew has an Aramaic colouring, the Chaldaic a Hebrew colouring, while the Greek is distinctly Hebrew in its syntax. As already indicated the book falls into two parts, the narrative portion and the visionary; but the language is independent of this division, i.e. portions of the narrative are in Hebrew, others are in Chaldaic and Greek; the same is the case with the portions devoted to the account of the visions.

STYLE AND CHARACTER. The order is not chronological; thus in the visionary portion, the first and third year of Balthazzar, vii. and viii., precede the first year of Darius the Mede, ix. Similarly, a want of sequence is observable; for the second dream iv. 1, has no introductory note of time, and in vv. 13 and 31 we note a remarkable change of gender and person. Certain repetitions, too, should be noted: ii. 48 = iii. 97; ii. 44 = iii. 100, iv. 31, vi. 26, vii. 14, and vii. 27. Some of the expressions in the Book have become 'Household-words,' e.g. v. 27, x. 1, xii. 3.

The Psalter was certainly well known to the author: cf. iii. 40, and Ps. xlix.; iii. 28-45 and Ps. l.; ix. 14 and Ps. cxliv. 13; while the correspondence between Daniel's prayer, ix. 14-19, and parts of Baruch, is remarkable.

This analysis will show the justice of the Talmudical title given to Daniel, viz. *the Prophet of the Divine Majesty*. It will further enable us to arrive at an idea of the real character and scope of the book. The wonders performed and the visions bestowed, cover the whole period of the Captivity, and they are clearly intended to show that, in the words of Malachi i. 14, 'I am a great King.....and My Name is dreadful among the Gentiles.' The Jews in captivity might well be tempted to doubt the power of their God when they saw around them the evidences of wealth and power which the heathen courts displayed. Sion was no more, the Davidic stock had seemingly perished: what hope was there for the exiled people? Hence the two-fold division of the book; their God is there—even in the Gentile palace; the present may seem hopeless, but there is the future, and their God has manifested that future to His chosen servant Daniel.

But there are remarkable differences between the prophecies of Daniel and those of his predecessors in the office. The latter had ever regarded Sion as the centre of God's power, for Daniel the whole world is the scene of God's manifestations of Himself. They had spoken of the Messianic kingdom as to follow immediately upon the restoration from captivity, Daniel points out that there will be intermediate kingdoms, and that 'seventy weeks of years' will elapse before the coming of the Holy One—though this period is to

be shortened. They had ever regarded the captivity as the last woe, Daniel shows, in the Apocalyptic portion of his book, that there are many woes to be endured before that period of glory which the Messianic kingdom should usher in. They had ever considered the Messias as their special and peculiar property; not so Daniel: the Messias is for the whole world, since the whole world is His, as the wonders wrought in Babylon have shown. Once more: Isaias had, in his portrayal of the 'Servant of the Lord,' seemed to imply that His coming would mean the material glorification of the kingdom of Israel (*cf.* Acts i. 6), but Daniel almost ruthlessly sweeps away such notions when he says: "and there shall be in the temple the *Abomination of Desolation;* and the Desolation shall continue even to the consummation and the end," ix. 27.

PRECISE CHARACTER OF THE BOOK. Modern critics dispute much regarding the real nature of the Book of Daniel; is it Prophecy, or Apocalypse, or History?

Apocalyptic literature as such is commonly understood to comprise works which undertake to unveil the remote future. The great example in the Bible, is, of course, the 'Apocalypse' of St. John, and there can be no question that his work gave rise to a host of imitations. 'Apocalypse' seems essentially to mean the manifestation of the future by means of symbols; the Seer never speaks in the person of God as do the Prophets; he is not concerned with the near future, but rather with that which is remote; it is his imagination rather than his intellect which is at work. In this latter sense the Prophets sometimes encroach on the rôle of the Apocalyptic Seers, but the converse is not the case. Thus in the case of Daniel we never find him saying: 'thus saith the Lord'; he is divinely illumined, indeed, for the interpretation of dreams, and the future is unveiled to his gaze; but we do not find in his prophecies those lessons of faith, hope, trust, and repentance for sin, which are so characteristic of Isaias, Jeremias, and Ezechiel; he is rather the 'wonder-worker' than the inspired preacher of God's word. This may explain the fact that the Hebrews do not place his book among the Prophets, in their Canon

his book is placed in the third division, *i.e.* among the 'Hagiographa' or 'Sacred Writings.'

But a further question is raised by modern critics: is the Book of Daniel really an Apocalypse at all? Is it not rather a history of events already past? From one point of view we may at once answer this question in the negative, for it is clear that the Prophecies in ch. ix. regarding the time of Christ's coming would have to be referred to the Christian era if they are history and not prophecy, and this, of course, we cannot do. But critics who allow the force of this still maintain that it is not so clear that the Apocalyptic descriptions of the wars of the Seleucidae and of the terrible reign of Antiochus Epiphanes are not founded on reminiscences of the past, and that they are not really visions of the future.

Now no one denies the existence of the historical Daniel; Ezechiel mentions him three times in ch. xiv., a fact which would compel us to allow that, even as early as the beginning of the sixth century B.C., he was already famous as a man illumined by God, cf. Ezech. xxviii. 3. Yet it will not therefore follow that the book bearing Daniel's name existed at that early period, indeed it is maintained that it cannot possibly have done so since it contains historical details referred to the third year of Cyrus, 536 B.C., x. 1, cf. vi. 28; and it is further urged that an impartial examination of the book itself shows that it is to be referred to a very much later period than that of the reigns of Nabuchodonosor, Nabonidus, and Cyrus. The arguments alleged are briefly these:

1. The position of the Book in the Hebrew *Canon;* see above.

2. The silence of the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, circa 180 B.C., regarding the Book; if the Book had been known to that writer he would surely have mentioned it in the catalogue of great Seers which he gives in ch. xlix.

3. Certain *historical* details in Daniel seem to be irreconcilable with the Books of Kings and with the history as revealed to us in the discoveries made in Babylonia and Assyria of late years; *e.g.*:

(a) *A siege of Jerusalem* in the third year of

Joachim, i. 1, is not borne out by IV. Kgs. xxiv-xxv., cf. Jer. xxv. 1, 9; xxxvi. 1, 29.

(b) The *'Chaldeans'* are always spoken of in Daniel as though synonymous with astrologers and 'wise men'; the term is never used to designate a nation, much less the conquering nation whose king was Nabuchodonosor; they occupy an inferior position and are treated as menials.

(c) *Balthazzar* is always spoken of as the king; yet as far as we can discern from the Monuments he never was king, he was the crown-Prince—nothing more; moreover, he is always termed 'son' of Nabuchodonosor, and this with a certain emphasis, v. 1, 2, 11, 13, 18, 21; but it is certain from the Monuments that a considerable interval separated him from Nabuchodonosor, and also that he was the son of Nabonidus, a king never mentioned by Daniel, though of supreme importance in the story of the fall of the city; it is probable that Balthazzar was no relation whatever to Nabuchodonosor.

(d) Again, Daniel intercalates between the capture of the city and Cyrus' reign a certain *Darius the Mede* of whom we know nothing either from profane history or from the monuments.

An impartial view, so it is maintained, of these 'facts' seems to point to the conclusion that the Book was not actually compiled by Daniel, but by one who lived at a much later period, a period, namely, when the 'Chaldeans' had actually degenerated into a class of soothsayers, when the very name of Nabonidus had been forgotten, when the order of the successive sovereigns was also lost in oblivion. And it is insisted that this view is borne out by an examination of the *language* of the Book itself: (a) Much of it is Chaldaic, and that not of an eastern but of a western and Palestinian type such as we find, for instance, in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan and in the inscriptions of Palmyra and of the Nabateans from the third to the second century B.C. (b) Again, the Hebrew of Daniel is not that of Jeremias, nor even that of Ezechiel who lived in Babylonia at the same time as Daniel; it is rather that of Esther, Ecclesiastes, and especially Chronicles. (d) Once more, the vocabulary is largely made up of Persian and Greek words, there

are so many of the former that we seem to be living in an age when the Persians and their language were so well known that their vocabulary had passed into the common speech of the surrounding nations. Could a man, it is asked, write thus at the court of the Chaldean king of Babylon in the sixth century? It is remarkable that in the Babylonian Contract-tablets of the time of Nabuchodonosor—of which the British Museum possesses an immense quantity—there appear to be no traces of Persian words.

We have given these arguments in full because it is far better that we should be acquainted with them than that we should shut our eyes to them. If true, we must take them into account when reading the Book of Daniel; if false, we must show their falsehood. On the supposition, then, that each point was proved, what would follow? In the first place, it has never been a point of Catholic doctrine that the Book of Daniel was actually written by him, nor even that it was written in the sixth century B.C. It has, however, always been a point of doctrine that it was predictive of the future, cf. St. Matth. xxiv. 15. Further, the date of Antiochus Epiphanes is B.C. 175-164, in other words, one hundred and fifty years after the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. Consequently, unless we are to bring down the date of the Book of Daniel to a period later than this there is no reason why a book tinged with Persian language and Persian thought should not have been written long before the period of Antiochus and thus contain veritable predictions of the future of that king. Indeed we might fairly argue that the very fact that it is so tinged is proof that it was not written later than the middle of the third century B.C. The only argument which could be brought forward to invalidate this conclusion is the silence of the author of Ecclesiasticus as mentioned above. But is this a conclusive argument? The catalogue of the Son of Sirach is far from complete and it is not easy to decide upon what principles he mentions certain names and omits others, thus who can explain why he mentions Nehemias and omits Esdras?

So far, then, even if all the arguments of the critics for the late date of the Book of Daniel were sound they need cause us no uneasiness, for they do not com-

pel us to see history in what we have always held to be prophecy; neither do they compel us to qualify assertions which have emanated from the authority of the Church. On the other hand it would be easy to allow too much weight to these same critical arguments; they are not all proved—far from it—and many of them have to be stated in a considerably modified form. We are not concerned here with the difficulties in detail, that is the work of a commentator; we will content ourselves, therefore, with drawing attention to the following significant points: (a) *Darius the Mede;* it is remarkable that Josephus, *Ant. X. xi.* 4, calls him a kinsman of Cyrus, and says that he had another name among the Greeks though he does not give it; we learn from Xenophon that a certain *Gobryas* actually took the city. (b) *Balthazzar; Ant. X. xi.* 2, identifies him with Nabonidus whom, however, he calls Naboandelus; but we know from the Monuments that Nabonidus had a son called Balthazzar, who, though not actually king, was a great deal more than crown Prince—he had actual charge of the troops. (c) Josephus, while following in the main the Biblical narrative as given in Daniel, yet had access to other sources of information and has given many details which we do not find in the Canonical Book. (d) Lastly, Josephus shows what was the Jewish tradition on the point when he says, *X. xi.* 7, "our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision and according to what he wrote many years before they came to pass." "All these things," he adds, "did this man leave in writing as God had showed them to him."

As regards the other statements of the critics anent the language of the Book, and its want of conformity with history as known to us, we must remember that, as yet, that history is only partially known to us and that until the Book of Daniel is *proved* to be historically inaccurate it is our duty to hold by it, for it itself is as much a historical document as any discovery in the east.

THE DEUTERO-CANONICAL PORTIONS. We referred above to ch. iii. 24-90 and chs. xiii-xiv., as existing now only in Greek. That they once existed in Hebrew

is clear from Origen who says that Theodotion gave it in his translation, which he could not have done had he not found it in the Hebrew copies in use, *Ep. ad Africanum* 2; Origen gives several traditions of the Jews regarding the Elders who figure in the story of Susanna. And Origen is but following the tradition of the Church both in the East and in the West which accepted these portions of Daniel as part of Sacred Scripture, *cf. s.v. Canon O.T.*

THEOLOGY. *God* is termed the 'Creator of heaven and earth,' xiv. 4; the 'God of gods,' xi. 26; the 'God of heaven,' ii., iv., and v.; the 'Great God,' ii. 45-47; the 'Living (and Eternal) God,' vi. 20, 26; xiii. 3, 42; xiv. 4, 24; He is the 'Ancient of Days,' vii. 9-22; the 'Most High,' iv. and v.; He is the Ruler of all nations, ii. 44; cf. iii. 98, and throughout ch. iv. The *Resurrection* is taught in express terms, xii. 2; we read of 'the Book of Life,' xii. 1; and the position of Teachers in the Church is emphasised, xii. 3. Sin is to be overcome by almsdeeds, iv. 24; abstinence from certain foods is praiseworthy, i. 8.

The *Angelology* of the Book is full of interest: we read of 'a watcher and a holy one,' iv. 10, 14, 20; of 'the Angel of the Lord,' iii. 49, vi. 22, xiii. 55, 59, xiv. 33 and 38. But it is when we come to Daniel's visions that his doctrine concerning the ministry of Angels is most remarkable: Gabriel comes to him to explain the vision, thus preluding his work in the Incarnation; he is spoken of as 'the man Gabriel,' cf. x. 16, 18; a 'Prince of the kingdom of the Persians'—apparently an Angel—is spoken of, x. 13, also a 'Prince of the Greeks,' x. 20, while Michael is spoken of as 'your Prince'; hence is derived the view that not only individual men, but even whole nations, have their appointed guardian-Angels.

The most interesting Theological point, however, is to be found in the vision given in ch. vii., where Daniel sees *'One like the son of Man,'* Who came in the clouds, and was presented to the 'Ancient of Days,' and received from Him an unending kingdom; we have here the roots of Our Lord's self-chosen title, 'the Son of Man.'

OSEE.

Hosheah, 'salvation,' the first name of Josue, Nbs. xiii. 8. Osee was apparently from the Northern kingdom, for he never mentions Jerusalem nor the temple. He prophesied under Osias, 808-757, Joatham, 757-742, Achaz, 742-726, Ezechias, 726-698, and Jeroboam II. of Israel, 823-782. This is, as often said, the ordinary chronology; but the monuments indicate a somewhat later date, and it is possible that the comparative chronology of the two kingdoms during the period in which Osee prophesied should be arranged as follows:

Juda.	*Israel.*
Azarias (Osias) 792-740.	Jehu, 843-815.
Joatham, 740-734.	Joachaz, 815-790.
Achaz, 734-728.	Jeroboam II., 790-749
Ezechias, 728-697.	Menahen, 748-738.
	Phaceia, 738-736.
	Phacee, 736-734.
	Osee, 734-722.

This is, of course, only an hypothetical arrangement, but it should be noted that according to the ordinary chronology we should have to suppose that Osee prophesied at least from 790-724, which is not likely. It is highly probable that Osee lived to see the destruction of Samaria at the hands of the Assyrians, cf. iii. 4, vii. 3, 5, viii. 10, x. 3, 7 xi. 1, xiii. 10-11.

THE THEME. Osee regards Israel as an apostate kingdom; the Schism is their bane, iii. 5, and v. 4; they will not return to God, v. 4, 6, 15, vi. 1, vii. 7, 10, viii. 2, x. 12, xiv. 2-4; they have given themselves up to the worship of the calves, viii. 5-6, x. 5, etc.; this is Baal-worship, ii. throughout, xi. 2, xiii. 1. But God yearns as a father over His erring children, and the whole prophecy may be described as a constant reminder of former mercies, ii. 8, ix. 10, xii. 13; these should surely have prevented them from apostatising; yet, in spite of their rejection of them,

these mercies shall be offered to them once more. This it is which gives to the prophecy of Osee its peculiarly pathetic character. The opening chapters strike this note, for they tell us of the Prophet's unhappy marriage; he marries an abandoned woman who is unfaithful to him: so Israel has been unfaithful to God, yet will He espouse her to Himself. But though He thus espouses her He will yet shut her up for awhile to purify her, ch. iii.

Divisions.

I-III. Introductory; the marriage of Osee.

IV-IX. 9. Israel's sins are reproved and the coming punishment is foretold.

IX. 10–XIV. The penalty is insisted on, yet it shall lead to their ultimate salvation.

This division may stand since it serves to break up the subject-matter. But it is hard to justify it chronologically; in i. 4, the House of Jehu is still standing; in viii. 10, we have a probable reference to the tribute which Menahen paid to Assyria, IV. Kgs. xv. 19-20. Hence we might distinguish the introductory portion, i-iii., from the body of the prophecy; the former belongs to an earlier period than the latter.

The prophecy is, as we have said, directed against Israel, yet Juda is by no means excluded, their sin and its judgements are dwelt on, iv. 15, v. 5, 10-14, viii. 14, x. 11; but their ultimate redemption is also promised, i. 11, vi. 4, 11; while a glorious tribute is paid to Juda—if the reading can be trusted, in xi. 12.

THE STATE OF THE TIMES AS DEPICTED IN OSEE. The moral state of Israel was deplorable; the reign of Jeroboam II., with its successes, had begotten prosperity, with its accompanying vices. Men looked for the good things of this world and forgot their Giver, ii. 5, 8, 9, vii. 14, ix. 2, xiv. 8. The calf-worship, with the Schism of which it was the symbol, had alienated men from 'the Lord their God and from David their king,' iii. 5; priests and prophets had alike gone astray, iv. 6, v. 1-2, vi. 9, ix. 7, altars were set up everywhere, viii. 11, 14, x. 1-2, xii. 11;

while the moral tone of the people had suffered in proportion, iv. 1-2. And if the moral atmosphere was bad the political one was worse. King after king had been deposed; there was no stability of government; men were divided as to the advisability of throwing in their lot with Assyria or with Egypt, v. 13, vii. 11, viii. 9, ix. 3, x. 6, xi. 5, etc. The result was hopeless confusion; in the end, says the Prophet, their calf 'shall be carried into Assyria, a present to the avenging king,' x. 6, xi. 5.

STYLE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROPHECY. As St. Jerome remarked long ago, Osee's style is 'abrupt,' *commaticus*. His sentences are short and pithy, and the thought is often so condensed that it becomes difficult to follow the drift of the author. He is the lyric poet of the Bible, cf. for example, ch. xiv. We have already referred to the pathos of his style, xi. 3, 4, 8-12, xiii. 4-5. His similes are abundant and striking, cf. v. 12, 14, vi. 3-5, vii. 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, ix. 11, x. 4, xiii. 3, 7, xiv. 6-9; many of his expressions have become proverbial, ii. 14, iv. 9, 11, vi. 6, viii. 7, xi. 4, xiii. 9; and others are familiar to us from the New Testament quotations of them, e.g. vi. 8, xiii. 11. He is fond, too, of playing upon words and names, e.g. i. 5, 6, 9, ii. 16, etc.; see, too, his use of the term 'Bethaven,' or 'House of evil,' for Bethel, 'House of God.' The tenderness which prevails throughout is shown by his frequent use of the word *chesed*, signifying 'mercy,' cf. iv. 1, vi. 6, x. 12, xii. 7, ii. 21.

THEOLOGY. God is termed 'the Holy One,' xi. 9; He is 'the Lord God of hosts,' xii. 5; the very land is His, ix. 3-4. But, though the term is not used, God, for Osee, is always 'the Father,' we see this particularly in the many passages which set forth the sweet compulsions of the divine mercy, *e.g.* ii. 6-24. And He is also the Redeemer, i. 10-11, xi. 8-11, etc. In the moral order, Osee's teaching is the same as that of Amos, he condemns false material ideas of the value of sacrifice, viii. 13, ix. 4; note the awful reprobation in ix. 13-17.

REFERENCES TO THE PAST HISTORY OF ISRAEL. Osee is peculiarly rich in such references, especially in chs. ix. and x. Some of them are obscure to us, for after so many centuries the key has been lost, but it is well to notice this since it affords proof, if such were needed, that the whole story of the Hebrews is not to be found between the covers of the Bible. It is often possible to remove some of the difficulties by a study of the original text. The parallels between the prophecies of Osee and the Mosaic Law are numerous; it will repay the student to work them out for himself. The modern theory is that Osee is the parent of the book of Deuteronomy, but the student should compare such passages as v. 10 and Deut. xix. 14; viii. 7-8 and Deut. xxviii. 33; ix. 11-12 and Deut. xxviii. 41; viii. 1 and Deut. xxviii. 41, etc.

DATE. We have already shown that it is possible that the prophet wrote subsequent to the fall of Samaria in 722; it should be noted, in addition, that he shows a certain dependence upon Amos, cf. Amos i. 2 and Osee xi. 10; Amos iv. 15 and Osee v. 5; Amos iv. 11 and Osee vii. 10. At the same time it is possible that Isaias i. 23 (Hebrew text), shows an acquaintance with Osee ix. 15, for both have a similar play upon words, though this might be accidental.

JOEL.

Yoel, meaning perhaps 'Jah (Jehovah) is El (God).' He was probably an inhabitant of the southern kingdom for he makes no mention of the northern tribes, and shows a great familiarity with the priests and the sacrifices.

Divisions.

I-II. 17. He describes an invasion of locusts, and urges repentance since this is a divinely-sent plague.

II. 18–III. 21. Immediate and remote effects of this repentance:

ii. 18-27. God answers the repentant people; He will at once make up to them their losses from the locusts.

ii. 28-32. But in Messianic days He will pour out His spirit upon them and will especially protect those who call upon His Name.
iii. 1-21. Why this calling upon His Name will be necessary, and when.

It has long been disputed whether we are to understand the locusts figuratively or as an historical fact. But since in ii. 18-19, the Prophet declares the divine answer to the repentant people, and, in ii. 25, says that God has promised to make good their losses at the hands of the locusts, it seems to follow that the locusts were an historical and real plague. For if they had but prefigured the wrath of God, the answer to the prayers of the people would rather have been a promise that the plague thus prefigured should not be sent. But, at the same time that the locusts are historical, they are also prefigurative of the enemies whom God will assuredly send if penance is not done; and, as is so often the case with the Prophets, there is constant transition from the type to the thing signified. This may explain such passages as ii. 20, 25, etc., which have led some to see in the locusts only a figure and not a reality.

THE DATE OF THE PROPHECY. (1) Amos i. 2, begins, and abruptly, with Joel iii. 16; further, he closes with words, ix. 15, taken from Joel iii. 18; in iv. 9, Amos may possibly refer to the failure of the plague of locusts to bring about a permanent repentance, note that the word for 'locust' there used only occurs in Joel i. 4, ii. 25. (2) Jer. xxv. 30, may quote either Joel iii. 16, or Amos i. 2. (3) 'The Day of the Lord' in Soph. i. 14-15 and Is. xiii. 6, 10, may perhaps be a reminiscence of Joel i. 15, ii. 10-11.

Since, then, Amos lived in the days of Ozias and Jeroboam II., i.e. about 800 B.C., it is a legitimate conclusion that the prophecy of Joel was written before that time. There are, however, certain difficulties in the way of accepting this date, and modern critics have assigned every century from the ninth to the fifth as the date of the Prophecy; it is usual nowadays, however, to refer the prophecy to the post-exilic period:

(a) There seems to be an allusion to a recent captivity in iii. 1-2.

(b) In accordance with this we should notice the silence regarding the Ten Tribes; the absence of allusion to any king, we seem to be in the presence of a hierarchy only. Note also the absence of reference to idolatry or to the High Places.

(c) Note also the significant reference to 'the Greeks' in iii. 6.

There can be no question that these arguments are weighty, especially the reference to the captivity. But it is questionable whether they can be allowed to outweigh those in favour of an earlier date. Thus:

(a) Abdias, Sophonias, and Habacuc are equally silent regarding the Ten Tribes. Similarly, Jonas, Nahum, and Habacuc are silent with regard to a king though the two former certainly lived under the monarchy.

(b) So also with regard to idolatry: Sophonias never mentions it; the High Places, too, are only mentioned by Osee, Amos and Micheas, of the Minor Prophets.

(c) The reference to the Greeks is startling, but there is nothing to compel us to see in these Ionians (Javan) the people of classical Athens; these Ionians are mentioned in Gen. x. 2, the oldest chapter, possibly, in the Bible; they are also mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon, 721-705. And the allusion to the Sabeans in the same passage of Joel must be taken into account; they are only mentioned in Job i. 15, and in Is. xlv. 29.

(d) Finally, it should be borne in mind that the prophecy of Joel is exceedingly brief; also that it is concerned with one solitary occasion, namely a plague of locusts. The only real parallel would be an isolated 'burden' of Isaias or Jeremias.

We have already indicated certain affinities between this prophecy and those of Amos, Jeremias, and Sophonias. It should further be pointed out that all through there is a remarkable similarity to Ezechiel, thus note i. 8, 18, ii. 27, iii. 17; according to the early date which we should feel inclined to assign to Joel Ezechiel would be the borrower.

The main feature of Joel is his insistence on the final Judgement; to him, iii. 2 and 12, we owe the

idea that it will take place in the Valley of Josaphat. His great Messianic Prophecy is quoted by St. Peter in his sermon on the Day of Pentecost.

The Theocratic language in ii. 1, 18, 26-27, iii. 2, 16, 17, 21, should be noted; also the frequent references to Sion as a Holy Place. That Joel was, like Amos, a husbandman, has been argued from such passages as i. 17-18, ii. 22, i. 19-20.

AMOS.

Amos the prophet must not be confounded with Amos, or better Amots, the father of Isaias. He prophesied in the days of Ozias, 808-757, and Jeroboam II., 823-782, according to the ordinary chronology; but the Assyrian monuments have apparently made it necessary to bring down these dates to a little later period, i.e. Ozias, 791-740, and Jeroboam II., 790-749, cf. *s.v. Chronology*. Amos was a herdsman, i. 1; he also calls himself 'a dresser of figs,' vii. 14. He was an inhabitant of Juda and lived at Thecua, i. 1, but was called to prophecy in Bethel, vii. 10-13. His whole prophecy is directed against the calf-worship which prevailed in the northern kingdom, iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5, vii. 9, 13, viii. 14.

There are several indications which go to confirm the opening words regarding the date at which Amos prophesied; thus the threat against Gaza, i. 6-7, seems to be fulfilled in Jer. xlvii. 1; vi. 15, must be later than IV. Kgs. xiv. 25, Gath is not mentioned amongst the towns of Philistia i. 6-8, and is mentioned as destroyed, vi. 2, this agrees with Jer. xlvii., where Gath is also omitted; it was destroyed by Ozias II. Paral. xxvi. 6. It is possible that an actual recent eclipse gave rise to the prophecy in viii. 9; there was an eclipse on Feb. 9th, 784 B.C., also on June 15th, 763.

Divisions.

(a) I-II. Introduction, in which the just punishment of Syria, Philistia, Phoenicia, Idumea, Moab, and Ammon is indicated; the Prophet thus leads up to the punishment of Juda and Israel. He is not concerned with the former, and only touches on it slightly; but

the sin of Israel is the climax and the Prophet dwells on God's past mercies and on their ingratitude.

(b) III-VI. Three sermons, each beginning with the words 'Hear this word'; their burden is respectively the certainty, the necessity, and the severity of the punishment. It should be noticed that ch. iv. is directed against women, though this is not brought out in our version.

(c) VII-IX. Five visions.

After the first three visions, viz. those of the locusts, the fire, and of the Lord holding a mason's trowel, the Prophet pays his visit of denunciation to the temple at Bethel, vii. 10-17, he is rejected by Amasias the priest, but foretells God's wrath upon him. These three plagues are not really averted, they are merely withheld from complete fulfilment; some have seen in them the three successive incursions by Phul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Sargon. The two remaining visions are (a) that of the hook to draw down fruit, signifying the coming destruction of the calf-worship at Dan and Bethel; (b) that of the Lord standing on the altar, He threatens destruction yet promises ultimate redemption.

CHARACTER OF THE PROPHECIES AND VISIONS. Amos was a shepherd and he uses a shepherd's imagery; thus note his agricultural similes, ii. 13, ii. 5, iv. 6, vii. 8, viii. 2, 3, ix. 9, etc.; also his constant references to the lion, i. 2, iii. 4, 8, 12, v. 19. But it would be a mistake to regard him as an uneducated man, many of his expressions have passed into household words, e.g. ii. 7, iv. 11, 12, viii. 11, etc. The oratorical refrains, too, of chs. i-ii., iv-v., should be noted. His wide knowledge of Palestine, its peoples and its customs, is most remarkable; it is possible that the wool trade of Palestine took Amos into contact with many men and made him acquainted with many manners, thus note his frequent references to Egypt, iii. 9, vi. 5, viii. 8, ix. 5.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROPHECY OF AMOS AND THAT OF JOEL. It is remarkable that the prophecy opens and closes with words taken ap-

parently from Joel, thus cf. Amos i. 2, and Joel iii. 16, also Amos ix. 13 and Joel iii. 13. This makes it at least probable that in iv. 9, we have a direct allusion to the plague of locusts mentioned in Joel i., cf. also Amos vii. 1-3.

REFERENCES TO THE MOSAIC LAW. In ii. 4, note the 'Law' and the 'statutes'; iv. 4-5, the technical terms for sacrifices, so also v. 22; viii. 5, the holy days whereon it was forbidden to labour; ii. 8, the garments in pledge, cf. Exod. xxii. 26. Note also the references to the history of the Exodus, ii. 10, and ii. 7, and cf. Exod. xiv. 22 and Deut. viii. 14. Note further the reference to the Nazarites ii. 11-12, and cf. Nb. vi. 5.

THEOLOGY OF AMOS. He has certain anthropomorphic expressions, e.g. i. 2; but for Amos God is always 'the Lord the God of Hosts,' iv. 13, v. 15, 16, vi. 8; He is 'Almighty,' iv. 13, v. 8, 9, ix. 5-6; and He reveals Himself to His prophets, iii. 7-8. Like Isaias, Amos' doctrine is that the 'remnant' shall be saved, v. 15, ix. 8-15. But the most trenchant condemnation is reserved for lip-service and false ideas of the value of ceremonial, v. 21-27; the whole moral teaching of the book is summed up in the terrible words of iii. 2.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN THE TIME OF AMOS. The reign of Jeroboam II. is passed over in a few verses in IV.Kgs.xiv.23-29, but enough is told to enable us to see that his reign marked the height of prosperity for the northern kingdom. And this is fully reflected in the prophecies of Amos; the people were rich, and violence and drunkenness were rife, cf. ii. 6, viii. 6, ii. 7-8, iii. 15, iv. 1, v. 11-21, vi. 1, 4, 6.

ABDIAS.

Obad-Yah, 'the Servant of the Lord.' His prophecy is the shortest in the Bible. Its theme is the destruction of Edom (Esau, Seir, Idumea), a destruction which shall come upon them with appalling complete-

ness as a punishment for their rejoicings over the destruction of Jacob.

Divisions.

1-9. Edom shall be destroyed in spite of the lofty and apparently impregnable position of their city Petra; a graphic description of the eyrie whence the Edomites looked down in fancied security. Note that in v. 9, 'the south' should be 'Theman,' a district of Arabia, this rendering completes the parallelism; cf. Jer. xxv. 13, xlix. 20, Is. xxi. 14, Job vi. 19.

10-16. The Edomites rejoiced in the destruction of Jacob in 'the day of thy brother': so also shall it be done to Edom, 'for the day of the Lord is at hand upon all nations.'

17-21. When the captivity is over, Jacob shall consume Esau, and 'the kingdom shall be the Lord's.' The startling reference in v. 20 to 'Bosphorus' is due to a misreading of the Hebrew 'in Sepharad,' the Hebrew preposition *be* being taken as part of the name Sepharad.

DATE AND OCCASION. It is usual to refer the destruction of Jerusalem mentioned in vv. 10-16 to the destruction of the city by Nabuchodonosor in 588, and this might seem to be confirmed by the reference to the captivity in v. 20. But it seems clear that in vv. 10-16 two distinct destructions of the Holy City are mentioned: vv. 10-12 refer to one that is already past; vv. 12-16 to a future one. It will then be necessary to find traces in Biblical history of a previous destruction of Jerusalem when Edom can be described as taking part in it, and rejoicing over it. It is possible that in II. Paral. xxi. 16-17, we have a reference to some such act on the part of the Edomites; there the Philistines and the Arabians are said to have 'carried away all the substance that was in the king's house, his sons also, and his wives; so that there was no son left him (Joram) but Joachaz who was the youngest.' It is true that the Edomites are not mentioned in the text, but it is quite legitimate to see them in the 'Arabians,' or—more in accordance with the prophecy—to suppose that Edom rejoiced over Jacob's discomfiture. Joram reigned B.C. 893-885, but since

Abdias has in view a 'Day of Jacob,' which can hardly be any other than its destruction by Nabuchodonosor, we cannot well attribute the prophecy to an earlier period than the time when the Chaldeans were an imminent peril to Palestine, i.e., the latter part of the seventh century B.C. The illusion in v. 20 to the 'captivity of Jerusalem in Sepharad,' would then seem to refer to the captivity of Joachin son of Joachim *c.* 597 B.C.

On the other hand, there are certain difficulties incident to this date for the Prophecy. It seems certain that Jer. xlix. 7, 9, 10, 14-17, 22, embodies Abdias 1-9; for it is hardly conceivable that Abdias gathered together these verses from Jeremias and formed them into a consecutive whole. And that Jeremias is not merely quoting a contemporary prophecy may be argued from the apparent quotation of Abdias 17 by Joel, ii. 32. The place assigned to the prophecy of Abdias in the Massoretic text seems to point to an early date such as this would involve, for in that text Abdias follows upon Amos, and it is tolerably certain that this order is due to the tradition that Abdias comes next to Amos in chronological order. But here once more we are baffled by the reference to the captivity in v. 20. It is possible that in Ps. cxxxvi. 7, 'remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem, who say: rase it, rase it, even to the foundations thereof,' we have a proof that the rejoicing of Edom referred to by Abdias actually took place at the time of Nabuchodonosor's destruction of the city, but here again we are baffled by the apparent reference to a previous 'day of Jacob,' which gave occasion to these rejoicings, rejoicings which were not to be repeated at the actual capture of the city by Nabuchodonosor.

It is impossible to decide this question; if we accept the view that the prophecy of Abdias was known to Jeremias and Joel, and that Amos quotes Joel, cf. *s.v. Amos*, then we shall have to refer Abdias to the eighth century B.C.; if, on the other hand, we prefer to be governed by the quotation given above from Ps. cxxxvi. and by the allusion to the 'captivity of Jerusalem in Sepharad,' in v. 20, we shall have to refer the prophecy to a much later period, viz.

to about the close of the seventh or the opening of the sixth century B.C.

JONAS.

According to IV. Kgs. xiv. 25, Jonas was of Gath-Opher, and prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam II., 823-782. The prophecy has no introduction and no hint of date. It is rather the history of a prophecy than a prophecy. It falls into two parts: chs. i-ii., Jonas' first mission from which he flees; instead of going east to Ninive, he goes to the west, sailing from Joppe the port of Palestine, cf. Jos. xix. 46, and II. Paral. ii. 16. The Lord raises a storm to show His displeasure at Jonas' action, and the Prophet implores the frightened sailors to cast him into the sea which is at once calmed. A huge fish swallows Jonas, and he breaks into a canticle which is composed of verses from the Psalms; the fish then ejects Jonas. Chs. iii-iv., he is again told to go to Ninive, and this time he at once obeys. His preaching is successful, but the missioner is displeased; he had expected, and indeed hoped, to see the city suddenly destroyed, iv. 5. God, however, shows him how unworthy such sentiments are by raising up a plant which shelters Jonas from the heat; but whilst the prophet is rejoicing in the shade thus provided, a cancer-worm eats into it from within and it withers away. God then tells him that he has only grieved for a plant which he had not toiled to make, much more then will God grieve for the destruction of souls for whom He has toiled. This is the moral of the story and it thus foreshadows the universality of the Gospel; it teaches, too, the value of real penitence, and it foreshadows Our Lord's rejection of all mere *Legalism*. Jonas himself is a type of Christ, cf. St. Matth. xii. 40, and xvi. 4.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK. The Assyrian empire was, in the reign of Jeroboam II. of Israel, in a state of decay, for the reign of Rammannirari III., 812-783, practically covers the same period as the reign of Jeroboam. Modern writers deny to the book all historical character because they maintain that it shows evident signs of having been com-

posed long after the time to which the events are assigned; some even refer it to the age of Maccabees. But against this it should be noted that the book has a place amongst 'the Twelve' Minor Prophets; from this it would seem to follow that its prophetical character was acknowledged by the Jews. But if this is the case then it must have been regarded as composed long before the fall of Ninive. It is doubtful, too, whether a later writer would have presented the prophet in such a very unamiable light. The author of *Ecclesiasticus, circa* 180 B.C., evidently regarded 'Jonas' as holding a place among the 'Twelve,' xlix. 12. It must be remembered that the term 'Prophet' does not necessarily signify one who foresees events; it rather means one who has entered into God's counsels, and who is thus enabled to manifest to us God's ways, whether in the past, the present, or the future. In this sense the book of Jonas has as much claim to a place among the 'Prophets' as the Books of Kings which, for the Hebrews, ranked among the 'Prophets.' In discussing the question of date, however, it must be borne in mind that Jonas differs from the other prophetical books in that it is written wholly in the third person. Various Aramaic expressions are pointed out by critics as proofs that the book belongs to a late date, but the argument from 'Aramaisms,' is always precarious, for we really know very little about the various phases through which the Hebrew language went; at any rate, the Zenjirli inscriptions have shown us that as early as the eighth century B.C., Aramaic forms, hitherto considered an indisputable sign of late date, existed. At the same time, account must be taken of the fact, already pointed out, that the hymn of Jonas, ii., is a cento of fragments of Psalms, some of which may be of late date.

It is worth while pointing out that there are no whales in the Mediterranean where Jonas met his fate; hence it is always well to speak of Jonas' host as 'a big fish.'

As regards the text there is only one interesting variant to be pointed out and that is in iii. 4, where the LXX. reads 'three days' instead of 'forty days.' This variant was known to St. Justin, *Dialogue* 107, where—as the text now stands—we read: "three (in

other versions, forty) days"; the words in brackets are probably due to some later copyist. St. Augustine also knew the variant reading, and comments on it at length, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII. 44. The rendering 'ivy' in iv. 6, for the 'colocynth' of the Old Latin version, was the occasion of a remarkable scene which St. Augustine describes in a letter to St. Jerome (*Ep.* LXXX. among the Letters of St. Jerome); St. Jerome defends his translation 'ivy' in his commentary on Jonas, and in *Ep.* LXXIV. to St. Augustine. St. Jerome, *Prologue to his Commentary on Jonas*, says that this prophet's tomb was shown at the second mile-stone from Sepphoris, called Diocæsarea. But the Arabs venerate his remains at the mound near Ninivch known as 'Nebi-Younas,' *i.e.* 'the Prophet Jonas.'

MICHEAS.

Michah, from a root signifying, according to St. Jerome, 'to be lowly'; in Jer. xxvi. 18, the name is written *Mi-che-Yah*, i.e. 'who is like to God,' cf. Mich. vii. 18. He prophesied under Joatham, 757-742, Achaz 742-726, and Ezechias 726-698, according to the ordinary chronology. He was an inhabitant of Morasthi which may be identified with Moreshith-Gath, i. 14, in which case it would signify 'the suburbs of Gath.' Micheas prophesied against Juda and Israel, but while threatening them with dire punishment for their sins of oppression he at the same time, like Isaias, dwells at length on the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of a 'remnant.'

Divisions.

i. Judgement shall come.
ii-iii. And it is necessary.
iv-v. Promise of ultimate restoration.
vi-vii. A threefold judicial discussion between God and His people.
 vi. 1-8. Complaint of their ingratitude.
 vi. 9–vii. 10. Therefore He must punish them.
 vii. 11-20. The people celebrate the divine mercy shown in their redemption.

It should be noted that all through the prophecy justice and mercy are intermingled.

THE STATE OF THE TIMES. It is evident from the prophecy that a great deal of idolatry, v. 10-14, vi. 16, prevailed; also that there was much oppression of the poor by the princes, the false prophets, and the priests, iii. 1, 5, 11. Since Ezechias instituted such great reforms it might seem improbable that the prophecy of Micheas can actually date from this time, yet on the other hand, in Jer. xxvi. 18-19, the prophecy contained in Mich. iii. 12 is expressly referred to the days of Ezechias, thus furnishing us with a good example of the danger attaching to purely intrinsic evidence. This brings us to the question of the *Date of the prophecy.* The reigns of Joatham, Achaz and Ezechias, cover a period of some sixty years, and it is worth while trying to ascertain to what precise part of that period the prophecy in question is to be assigned. It seems clear that iii. 12, is intimately connected with iv. 1-2, and that both passages are to be assigned to the time of Ezechias (Jer. xxvi. 18); but we find in Isaias ii. 2-4, the first part of this Messianic promise, viz. vv. 1-3. Instead, however, of continuing as Micheas does in v. 4, Isaias suddenly breaks off in an address to Jacob. It is legitimate, then, to argue that this prophecy in Isaias is borrowed from Micheas and is consequently later in the reign of Ezechias than the prophecy of Micheas. The parallels between these two prophets are numerous; thus cf. Mich. i. 9-16, the catalogue of cities in the Shephelah, and Is. x. 28-32, a similar catalogue of the cities in the hill-country; also Mich. ii. 1-2, and Is. v. 8; Mich. ii. 11, and Is. xxviii. 7; Mich. iii. 5-7, and Is. xxix. 9-12; Mich. iv. 4, and Is. i. 20; Mich. vi. 6-8, and Is. i. 11-17.

THE STYLE OF MICHEAS. We miss the striking imagery of Amos and Osee, and Micheas has not given to the world so many 'household words' as Amos; but it would be a mistake to regard his prophecy as lacking in fire, cf. i. 16, ii. 11, iv. 13, etc. And while he has not the inimitable pathos of Osee we cannot deny the beauty of the lamentation of ch. vi., which has been chosen by the Church to form portion of the *Responsories* at *Tenebræ.* In comparison with Amos, too, Micheas is wanting in striking similes, v. 7 and 8 are practically the only examples. But just as Amos

is fond of mentioning the lions with which he had become familiar while minding his flock, so too Micheas is fond of the mountains, cf. ii. 6, vi. 1, 2, vii. 12.

THE THEOLOGY. Throughout we are reminded of the latter portion of Isaias; the days of the Messias are depicted in the same terms, ii. 13, iv. 1, v. 2-6; the Messias is of the stock of Juda and to spring from Bethlehem, v. 2; He is to be 'the Ruler,' and 'our Peace,' v. 5; and lastly, "I will look towards the Lord, I will wait for God my Saviour," cf. Is. xxv. 9, xxvi. 8, and Hab. iii. 18. The spiritual Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, is spoken of in the same terms as in Isaias, cf. iii. 12, it is to be destroyed, but cf. iv. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, where a glorious future is foretold for it. So also Micheas' idea of God is that with which we are familiar from Isaias, cf. iv. 4, where the purely Isaianic phrase occurs 'for the mouth of the Lord God of hosts has spoken it.' The moral teaching of Micheas is like that of all the prophets; he insists, v. 6-8, on the real nature of sacrifice, *cp.* Amos v. 21-27, Ps. xlix., etc. His words regarding the inspiration of the prophets, ii. 11, should be noted, cf. iii. 8, Amos vii. 14-15, II. Sam. xxiii. 1-3.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS. The picture of the political state of the world corresponds with that furnished by Isaias; Assyria looms on the horizon, v. 5, but yet vengeance is in store for it, v. 6; while a Babylonian captivity is in view, iv. 8 (LXX.) and iv. 10, though even from it Israel shall be redeemed.

OTHER POINTS TO BE NOTED. Allusions to the past history; Balaam, vi. 5; Moses, Aaron, and Mary, vi. 4; the house of Amri, vi. 16; the Exodus, vii. 15. The text in the Douay version is obscure in parts: i. 10-15, the names of the ten towns of the Shephelah have mostly been translated instead of transliterated, and the sense is thus lost; in iv. 8, 'the cloudy tower of the flock,' the word rendered 'cloudy' is 'Ophel,' the name of the low-lying hill on which the city of David was built.

NAHUM.

The 'Consoler,' and from his birthplace called 'the Elcesite'; St. Jerome was shown a place called Elkosh in Galilee as the site of the Prophet's birth; another Elkosh is pointed out near Mossoul as the site, and it is remarkable that both the Prophets who directed their prophecies against Ninive should have graves assigned to them there. In the *Vitae Prophetarum* of Pseudo-Epiphanius, Elkosh is assigned to the east of the Jordan, but there is reason for thinking that the true reading of the passage puts it on the west near Eleutheropolis. A Judean birth-place would perhaps better harmonise with the prophecy. The Galilean site, however, has an abundance of tradition in its favour, and Capharnaum, 'Village of Nahum,' is, after all, the most probable place of the Prophet's birth.

He foretells the fall of Ninive, 606 B.C., and he refers the Assyrians to the fall of Thebes in Egypt as an example of what will befall them, iii. 8; Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, took Thebes in 666 B.C. Thus the prophecy will fall between 666 and 606 B.C.

Divisions.

The Prophet is solely concerned with the fall of Ninive:

A. i. 2-6. God is terrible in His justice.
i. 7-10. He is also great in His mercy.
i. 11-15. Ninive is plotting against Jerusalem but: 'no more of thy name shall be sown.' It is not easy to decide which of the Assyrian kings is referred to in i. 11, the notes in the Douay version, even though it has been stated in the preface to the book that Nahum prophesied after the fall of the Ten Tribes, i.e. after 722 B.C., refer the opening words to 'about 740 B.C.'; they remark on i. 11, that Sennacherib cannot be meant, and they suggest Holofernes instead. But it seems more probable that it is Assurbanipal who is meant, he reigned from 668-626 B.C., and was a standing menace to Jerusalem.

B. iii. 1-19. The destruction of Ninive; 1-7, because of her crimes; 8-13, let her take example from Thebes; 14-19, it is idle to strive against her fate. The translation 'Alexandria,' iii. 8, is manifestly an anachronism; No is mentioned, Jer. xlvi. 25 (Hebrew text), also Ezech. xxx. 14-16, where the Vulgate has Alexandria, but the LXX. has Diospolis or Thebes.

STYLE OF NAHUM. The description of the assault upon Ninive is exceedingly vivid, and the equal of any description in the Bible. Some of Nahum's similes should be noted, *cf.* ii. 11-13 and iii. 15-17, for the former cf. Ezech. xix.

THEOLOGY. The attributes of God as given in i. 2-9 should be noted.

HABACUC.

This prophecy begins abruptly and without any indication of date: 'The burden that Habacuc, the Prophet, saw.'

Plan and Divisions.

A. i-ii. A dialogue between the Prophet and God.

i. 2-4. The Prophet's question: why is sin and injustice tolerated?

i. 5-11. The Divine answer: a fearful vengeance will be taken by God at the hands of His instruments, the Chaldeans.

i. 12–ii. 1. The Prophet's second question: but why at the hands of the Chaldeans, for they are worse than the Jews?

ii. 2-20. The Divine answer: A Redeemer will come; men must believe and trust; the instrument will in its turn be punished for its greed and violence.

B. iii. The Divine justice and mercy.

In imagery, borrowed from the description in Deut. xxxiii. 2, etc., of God coming to give the Law, the

Prophet depicts the divine Majesty coming to judge the world, iii. 1-7.

8-15. The judgement of the wicked which shall bring about the salvation of God's people.

16-19. The dispositions in which to await that judgement, i.e. faith and trust.

DATE OF THE PROPHECY. The Chaldeans who are here described as the instruments of the divine wrath, were originally a tribe dwelling in the marshy district near the mouth of the Euphrates, known as Bit-Jakin. Practically the earliest mention we have of them is in the history of Merodach-Baladan the enemy of Assyria, and the would-be ally of Ezechias. He appears as king of the Chaldeans from about 721-709 B.C. On the death of Assurbanipal, in 626 B.C., Nabopolassar the Chaldean became king of the Chaldeans, and the founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire; he was succeeded by Nabuchodonosor the Great, 605 B.C.

From all this it would seem that the Chaldeans can hardly have been known much before the end of the eighth century B.C. And Habacuc apparently presents them as unknown, except vaguely, to the Jews of his time; hence they could not have been conceived of as a menace. These considerations make it exceedingly difficult to identify the Habacuc of Daniel, xiv. 32, with the author of the prophecy, for the former lived under the Neo-Babylonian empire, i.e. under the Chaldeans; at the same time it is clear that the Prophet cannot have lived before the close of the eighth century. The chief vices which he bewails among the Jews are violence and injustice, i. 2-4 (the idolatry mentioned in ii. 18-19, is of course that of the Chaldeans); hence it has been held that the period of Manasses' repentance, *circa* 650-640, will best accord with the prophecy. The temple is still standing, ii. 20, and it is noteworthy that the Prophet shows a remarkable knowledge of the Psalter, thus cf. ii. 18-19 and Ps. cxiii. 4-8; ii. 20 and Ps. x. 4; iii. 3 and Ps. lxxi. 19; iii. 9 and Ps. vii. 13; iii. 11 and Ps. xvii. 15; iii. 13 and Ps. lxxxviii. 36-38; iii. 14 and Ps. ix. 9; iii. 19 and Ps. xvii. 2, 24. These parallels are, of course, mostly in ch. iii., which contains the wonderful hymn. This hymn is of particular interest because

it is the only place outside the Psalter where we find the musical terms of the latter preserved to us; thus in the title we have the term *Shigionoth*, the 'pro ignorantiis,' of the Vulgate, cf. Ps. vii. 1. The musical term *Selah* appears in vv. i. 9 and 13, though it is omitted in the Vulgate and in the Douay version; in the last verse the words 'the conqueror' and 'singing psalms,' should probably be rendered 'for the chief musician, on my stringed instruments,' they are a musical direction to the singers, *cf. s.v. Psalter.*

POINTS OF INTEREST. In i. 12, we have an instance of a change made by the Scribes of the Second Temple who changed 'and *Thou* shalt not die' into 'and *we* shall not die'; this was done from motives of reverence. In iii. 2, where the Vulgate and Douay read, in accordance with Hebrew text, 'in the midst of the years bring it to life,' the LXX. have 'in the midst of the two living things thou wilt be known,' a rendering which has given rise to the presence of the ox and the ass familiar to us in the Christmas Crib. Some of Habacuc's phrases have passed into proverbs, *e.g.* ii. 2 and ii. 4, the latter is quoted three times by St. Paul; see also ii. 11.

In many passages the Douay translation is almost unintelligible, and recourse must be had to the Revised version.

Little is known of the person of Habacuc. It is usual to identify him with the Habacuc of Daniel xiv., but, as shown above, it is hard to support this identification. St. Epiphanius says that he fled into Egypt to Ostracine after the fall of the city in 588, and died in 538. According to the LXX., Daniel xiv., viz. 'Bel and the Dragon,' was taken 'from the prophecy of Habacuc the son of Josue, of the tribe of Levi.'

SOPHONIAS.

Zephan-Yah, 'the Lord guardeth.' His genealogy is given as far back as the fourth generation, the mention in it of Ezechias makes it possible that Sophonias belonged to the royal family, but the name may

have been common. He prophesied in the days of Josias, 639-610 B.C.

The Prophet summons all to judgement for their idolatry, i. 4-6, and for their love of riches, i. 18, iii. 8. His cry is ever: 'the Day of the Lord is at hand,' and from i. 15, Thomas of Celano derived the opening words of the *Dies Irae.*

Divisions.

i-iii. 8. Universal judgement.
- i-ii. 3. On Israel.
- ii. 4-15. On the Nation
- iii. 1-8. On Israel and the nations.

iii. 9-20. Universal salvation.

This 'universal' tone in Sophonias should be noted; the history of the Nations is that of God's operations in them; and the goal of these operations is their universal salvation. In other words: God punishes only to save.

DATE OF THE PROPHECY. Both Jeremias and Sophonias prophesied during the reign of Josias, and it is not easy to determine which of them is prior to the other. Josias instituted a drastic reform, yet Sophonias bears witness to the presence of idolatry. Hence it is argued that he prophesied before Jeremias. It may be a confirmation of this that when Josias in his twelfth year wished to consult a prophet he went to Huldah and not to Jeremias or Sophonias; the latter, then, may have already been dead, while Jeremias was not called till the following year. There are, further, certain parallels between the two Prophets; but here again it is not easy to decide with whom the priority lies. It is generally maintained that it lies with Sophonias with whose prophecies Jeremias is thus presumed to have been familiar. But a comparison of Jer. vii. 28 with Soph. iii. 2, and of Jer. vii. 4 with Soph. iii. 11, would seem to indicate a literary priority for Jeremias.

The divisions given above will have shown how Sophonias, unlike the rest of the Minor Prophets, starts like Isaias, Jeremias, and Ezechiel, from predictions against the Chosen People, then proceeds to predic-

tions against the Nations, and finally to words of comfort for both. It would be a mistake to suppose that Sophonias, or any of the Prophets, spoke of woes in the abstract, or that they had in mind only the actual judgements of God. Rather they see these latter as exercised through the intervention of natural causes, divinely stirred up indeed to act as God's instruments, yet none the less natural. Sophonias is peculiar in that he never mentions the name of the invader who, in ch. ii., is to bring destruction on Philistia, vv. 4-7, on Moab and Ammon, on the Ethiopians, vv. 8-12, and even on the Assyrians, vv. 13-15; it is probable that he has in view the Scythians who sent out a wave of emigrants about that period and to whom we have a reference in Ezech. xxxviii-xxxix.; a trace of their presence in Palestine is to be found in the name Scythopolis given to Bethshan below the Sea of Galilee.

THEOLOGY. God is 'the Lord of Hosts,' ii. 9-10; He is 'the King of Israel,' iii. 15; He is 'jealous' for His people, i. 18, iii. 8; Jerusalem is His 'Holy Mountain,' iii. 11; He dwells 'in the midst thereof,' iii. 5, 15, 17; Priests and prophets alike are described as 'without faith,' and as acting 'unjustly against the Law.' iii. 4; the people are His but they are 'not worthy to be loved,' ii. 1; they must 'seek Him,' and He 'will save a remnant,' ii. 9, iii. 12-13.

POINTS OF INTEREST. The prophecy is certainly to be referred to the days of Josias and is consequently anterior to the Captivity. It is therefore interesting to note the references to a captivity in ii. 7, iii. 20, and to a dispersion in iii. 10, for it shows how hard it is to judge of the date of a prophecy from purely intrinsic evidence. In ii. 10-11, we have some interesting details regarding the topography of Jerusalem. In ii. 6, the LXX. has, in place of 'and the sea-coast,' 'the nations of the Cretans'; the Hebrew, however, 'the nation of the Cherethi,' a reading which throws an interesting light upon the puzzling 'Cherethi and Phelethi,' of II. Sam. viii. 18. In i. 13, Sophonias appears to quote Amos v. 11.

AGGEUS.

He began to prophesy two months before Zacharias, i.e. in the sixth month of the second year of Darius the Great (Hystaspis), viz. 519 B.C. According to the LXX., followed by the Vulgate, Pss. cxlv-cxlviii. were composed by him in conjunction with Zacharias. These two Prophets were raised up by God to arouse the people who had given way to discouragement after the re-building of the Temple had been interdicted in the days of Cyrus, *cf.* Esdras iii. 8-10, and in iv. 4-6; 'this people saith: the time is not yet come for building the temple of the Lord,' Agg. i. 2. In Esdras v. 1-2, the work of the two Prophets is mentioned.

The prophecy is addressed to Zorobabel and Josue, the former of the stock of David, the latter of the stock of Levi. The conjunction of the two is of the greatest importance in the series of Messianic prophecies. They represented, the one the kingly, the other the priestly aspect of the Messias. These two features were to be combined in the one person of the Messias, *cp.* Ps. cix. Hence it is that, while the whole prophecy is concerned with the re-building of the Temple, it also touches on the upraising of the apparently fallen and accursed House of David. Ezechiel, xi. 23, had seen 'the Glory of the Lord' quitting the Temple of Solomon; Jeremias had pronounced the curse of sterility on Jechonias the son of David, xxii. 30. Hence Aggeus insists that the Temple will be built and that its glory will be greater than that of Solomon's Temple, though its material splendour will not be so great, because 'the Desired of all nations shall come' into it, cf. Mal. iii. 1-3. He also insists on the glory of Zorobabel: 'My servant...I will make thee as a signet, for I have chosen thee,' ii. 24, words which are quoted in Ecclus. xlix. 13-14; for of him should be born 'David's Greater Son.'

Divisions.

i. 1-11. The people are blamed for their neglect
i. 12–ii. 1. They set to work to restore the temple.
(note that the chapter-division in the Vulgate and Douay is faulty, the date given in ii. 1. refers to the last words of ch. i.)

ii. 2-10. The new Temple is small; its glory, however, shall be far greater than that of the old Temple.
ii. 11-20. The People are defiled by reason of their neglect, yet they shall now be blessed.
ii. 21-24. The glory of Zorobabel and Josue.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE PROPHECY. In the prophecy as it now stands, we have four prophecies of Aggeus, one in the sixth month of the second year of Darius, i. 1; another in the seventh month, ii. 2; again two in the ninth month, ii. 11 and 21. It is, of course, inconceivable that we have in these written prophecies all that Aggeus said, and hence it is probable that the prophecy, as it now stands, represents but the fragments of a continuous preaching.

THEOLOGY. God is always 'the Lord of Hosts.' It will be of interest here to point out the peculiar distribution of this title for God in the later Old Testament books: it occurs first in I. Sam. i. 13, and seems gradually to become the dominant title; thus it occurs 14 times in Aggeus, 48 times in Zacharias, 25 times in Malachias. We should notice, too, the expression 'for I am with you,' i. 13, ii. 5, it is, perhaps, a reminiscence of Is. xiv. 7, though the Hebrew word is not quite the same. The teaching of the prophecy regarding the Messias has already been touched upon.

ZACHARIAS.

In Hebrew *Zakar-Yah*, 'the Lord remembers.' His prophecies are referred to the second and fourth years of Darius, 519 and 517 B.C.; he began to prophesy two months after Aggeus. In the opening verses he is termed 'the son of Barachias, the son of Addo.' In Neh. xii. 1 and 4, we read of an Addo who came up with Zorobabel from Babylon, and in verse 14 we find a priest Zacharias of the family of Adaia; while in Esdras v. 1, and vi. 4, Zacharias the Prophet is called 'son of Iddo,' the intermediate 'Barachias' being omitted. Hence we may conclude that the Prophet was also a priest. That he was the Prophet who was 'slain between the temple and the altar,' Matt. xxiii. 35,

is highly improbable, the Jews would hardly have slain a Prophet in those days, cf. Agg. i. 12. In the LXX., Pss. cxlv-cxlviii. are attributed to Aggeus and Zacharias.

OBJECT OF THE PROPHECY. Aggeus had dwelt upon the re-building of the Temple and the resuscitation of the Davidic House; Zacharias is concerned with the same two questions, but far more with the latter, i.e. the resuscitation of the Messianic kingdom.

Divisions.

I. 1-6. Introduction; they must turn to God.

I. 7–VI. Seven visions and one symbolic action.

i. 7-17. The first vision, on the 21st day of the eleventh month; the Prophet is shown the horsemen among the myrtle-bushes; the punishment of the Nations and the restitution of Jerusalem is promised: 'it is now the seventieth year.'

i. 18-21. The second vision; the four Horns signifying the oppressors of Israel; the four Smiths signifying those who are to remove these same oppressors.

ii. 1-13. The third vision; the measuring-rod, the future Messianic city.

These first three visions are concerned with the foundation of the Messianic kingdom.

iii. 1-10. The fourth vision; Josue's filthy garments are replaced by spotless ones, a mitre is put upon his head, and he and his friends are designated portending men, for, behold, I will bring My Servant the Orient.

iv. 1-14. The fifth vision; the Prophet is shown the golden candlestick and the two olive-trees, the symbols of the royal power.

v. 1-11. The sixth vision; the Prophet is shown the roll flying, the vessel, the talent of lead, and the woman in the vessel; symbols of iniquity which is to be removed.

vi. 1-8. The seventh vision; he is shown the four chariots representing the Spirit of God which passes throughout the earth.

vi. 9-15. The Symbolic action; the Prophet is told to place a golden crown on the head of Josue, for **Behold, a Man, the Orient is His Name.** The union of the priestly and the kingly powers is thus symbolised.

The first three visions signify, as already said, the foundation of the Messianic kingdom; the fourth and fifth are concerned with the Royal and Priestly Messias; the sixth and seventh with certain features of the kingdom.

VII-VIII. An address in the fourth year of Darius.

vii. To keep the commandments is of more importance than to observe the fasts.

viii. The Messianic promises are insisted on as an incentive to the observance of the commandments.

IX-XIV. Two 'Burdens.'

(a) ix. 1-7. The 'Burden' upon Syria, Phoenicia, and Philistia.

ix. 8-17. But mercy shall be shown to Israel: **Behold thy King will come to thee, the Just and Saviour.**

x-xi. A reprobation of the evil 'shepherds' who have neglected the flock entrusted to them. In spite of them abundant mercy shall be poured out upon Israel. By means of a symbolic action the Prophet shows what God will do to the rebellious ones of Israel, xi. 7-17.

(b) xii-xiv. The 'Burden' on Israel.

xii. 1-14. An assault upon Jerusalem; it shall bring ultimate relief to the city. It is remarkable that the punishment and relief are described in practically alternating strophes.

xiii. 1-6. A fountain shall spring up in Jerusalem; all false prophets and all idols shall be swept away, and 'I will say: thou art My people, and they shall say: the Lord is my God.'

xiv. 1-21. The final onslaught on Jerusalem; the Lord shall judge them; finally all Nations shall come to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF CHS. IX-XIV. There can be no question but that the tone of these chapters is quite

different from that of the preceding ones, and it is well known that St. Matthew, xxvii. 9, quotes xi. 12-13, as 'Jeremias.' We may briefly present the arguments for and against their attribution to Zacharias as follows:

Against their authenticity.

1. The style changes.
2. The interpreting angel disappears.
3. In i-viii. every allusion is to the time of Zacharias, while in ix-xiv. it is hard to see the agreement with his period.
4. In ix-xiv. occur frequent allusions to the half-built Temple, the growing city, etc.
5. In ix-xiv. the Nations mentioned are, with the sole exception of Greece, ix. 13, those who are familiar to us at the time of the Assyrian invasion at the close of the eighth century.
6. Egypt and Assyria were only simultaneously enemies of Israel—as they are presented in ch. x.—in the time of Osee, vii. 11, xii. 1, and of Isaias, vii. 18.
7. The mourning for Josias, to whom xii. 11, is probably to be referred—cf. II. Paral. xxxv. 24-25—is mentioned as apparently something recent and therefore not later than 600 B.C.
8. Idolatry is mentioned, xiii. 2, therefore the date cannot be subsequent to the Restoration in 538 B.C.
9. Similarly the earthquake, xiv. 5, 'in the days of Ozias,' 809-757, is spoken of as something recent.
10. Damascus, Emath, and the towns of the Philistines, are spoken of as though in their full strength, as in the days of the kings.

The above arguments cannot be despised; but

In favour of the authenticity

of the chapters in question we must consider the following points:

1. The style changes because the 'visions' are over, thus chs. vii-viii. mark a transition.
2. The 'Burdens' now begin, as is nearly always the case when the Prophets speak of the relations between the Nations and Israel.
3. If we are to take into account the names of the Nations, Greece forms an exception which we cannot overlook.
4. Phoenicia and Philistia may not have been what

they once were but they still existed and were still powerful.

5. The whole scene of invasion as described is perfectly fulfilled by Alexander the Great who did destroy Tyre and ravage Philistia, but not Jerusalem.

6. Though there are not frequent allusions to the time of Zacharias, yet in ix. 8, we have a reference to the 'house' of God.

7. Nehemias strove against mixed marriages precisely on the ground that they led to idolatry.

8. There is a remarkable similarity between much that we find in Zacharias throughout, and Ezechiel, Daniel, and the Apocalypse. It is doubtful whether this kind of Apocalyptic literature existed earlier than the time of Ezechiel.

It has been argued, with some degree of probability, that while chs. ix-xiv. are by Zacharias, the Prophet has used the terminology of the earlier Prophets because it was familiar, because it appealed more forcible to the ears of his hearers, and because he is now prophesying, and not speaking in the same way as in chs. i-viii.

THEOLOGY. The Lord is 'the Lord of hosts,' but it should be noted that though this title occurs with extraordinary frequency in i-viii., it only appears seven times in ix-xiv. The land is His, ix. 16; He is 'King of all the earth,' xiv. 9; His glory is 'in the midst of Jerusalem,' ii. 5, 8, 10, 11. The Messianic prophecies are numerous; a 'remnant' shall be saved, viii. 6, 11-12; the people are "My people,' viii. 7-8, xiii. 9; He is 'Emmanuel,' viii. 23; He is introduced as speaking, ii. 8-11, just as in Isaias; the priestly and kingly offices are united in His Person, vi. 13. The three principal Messianic prophecies are in iii. 8, vi. 12, ix. 9. The picture of Satan, iii. 1-2, should be compared with that in Job i-ii.; the peculiar expression, 'the angel that spoke in me,' throughout the first part, is confined to Zacharias.

POINTS OF INTEREST. The parallels between iii. 2 and Amos iv. 11; viii. 16-17 and Ps. xiv.; viii. 23 and Acts ii.; xiv. 5 and Amos i. 1; xiii. 5 and Amos vii. 14, should be noted. In ii. 8 (12, Hebrew), we have a famous instance of a change made by the

Scribes from a false motive of reverence; the Hebrew text reads: 'he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of *his* eye,' the Vulgate, against the Hebrew and the LXX., has preserved the correct reading.

MALACHIAS.

It is more correct to write 'Malachi,' meaning 'My angel'; 'Malachias' would mean the 'Angel of the Lord'; the LXX. renders 'by the hand of His angel,' thus evidently not regarding it as a proper name. In agreement with this it should be noted that neither Esdras—with whom the prophet is supposed to have been contemporary—nor Josephus, nor the author of Ecclesiasticus, xlix. 15, mentions Malachi. The Chaldaic paraphrase has 'My angel whose name is Esdras the Scribe,' and this identification is accepted by St. Jerome.

Divisions.

i. 2-5. The proemium; the happy lot of Israel as compared with Esau.
i. 6–ii. 9. The priests are blamed for their neglect of the divine worship.
ii. 10-17. The populace is blamed for various shortcomings; their contempt of one another; their divorces; their complaints, saying: 'Where is the God of judgement? ' ii. 17.
iii. 1-5. The Messias shall come to purify them, and God will judge them.
iii. 6-12. It is not He who is changeable, but they who are fickle.
iii. 13–iv. 3. Their cowardliness; His mercy, He will send the Messias, the 'Sun of Justice.'
iv. 4-6. The epilogue: 'remember the Law of Moses'; Elias shall come before the Messias.

THE STATE OF THE TIMES. There was much violence, iii. 5; the altar was despised, i. 12; the tithes were not paid, iii. 8-12, cf. Neh. xiii. 10; divorce was frequent, ii. 10-16, cf. Esdras x. 2, 10-44, Neh. xiii. 23-29; a spirit of cowardliness prevailed, and men openly said it was of no profit to them to adhere to the service of God, iii. 14-15. And though the priests

are more especially blamed, the populace are guilty as well, iii. 9, and their apostasy from God is of long standing, iii. 7. From all this it would appear that there was at the time much discontent among the people; the key to this may be found in Neh. ix. 36, 'we ourselves this day are bondmen, and the land which Thou gavest our fathers.....we ourselves are servants in it.' Hence came murmurings that God had not fulfilled His promises, and that it was not necessary to serve Him in order to be well off, iii. 12-18; they accused Him of changeableness, but God says: 'I am the Lord and I change not,' and He points out that it is they who are to blame since they have not fulfilled their share of the Covenant.

This state of things well accords with that pictured to us in Esdras and Nehemias, and it indicates that the Prophet—if not actually Esdras himself—was contemporary with him.

THEOLOGY. God is 'the Lord of hosts,' *passim;* He is 'the Father,' i. 6, ii. 10; He is 'the Great King,' i. 14; He changes not, iii. 6; He is still the God of Israel, 'they shall be My peculiar possession,' iii. 17, cf. Exod. xix. 5. He will send His Messias, iii. 2-4, cf. Zach. xiii. 9; the Messias is 'the Son of Justice,' iv. 2, and at His coming they 'shall leap,' cf. Is. xxxv. 6. Their sacrifices have been offered in an unworthy and grudging spirit, i. 8, 13-14, etc.; but the sacrifices of the Law shall be replaced by 'the pure oblation,' viz. the Mass, i. 11. The universality of the Gospel is foretold, 'My Name is great among the Gentiles,' i. 11, 14. The coming of John the Baptist is foretold, iv. 5-6, cf. St. Luke. i. 17, St. Mark ix. 10-12.

With Malachi the list of Prophets closes and for four hundred years no one came saying, 'thus saith the Lord.' But the captivity had done its work, and the land was cleansed from idolatry, note the silence of the three post-Exilic prophets, Zacharias, Aggeus, and Malachi on this point. John the Baptist, 'in the spirit and power of Elias,' St. Luke i. 17, was the first to break the long silence, and all Judea flocked to hear him.

CHAPTER X

THE TWO BOOKS OF MACCABEES

These two books deal with the war of independence waged by the 'Maccabees' against the Seleucid kings who succeeded to the empire of Alexander the Great in Palestine and Syria. The origin of the name 'Maccabee,' is disputed; some regard it as derived from the Hebrew 'Who is like to Thee among the gods ('strong' in Douay version)?' Ex. xv. 11. Others maintain that it is derived from the Hebrew word for a 'hammer,' cf. Judges iv. 21. The two books do not follow one another as two consecutive volumes. They are independent, I. Macc. covering the history of the wars waged by the three sons of Mathathias, viz. Judas, Jonathan, and Simon; while II. Macc. only treats of Judas' wars. The first book covers the years 176-133 B.C., the second, which begins at an earlier date, covers the period from 177-162 B.C.; the former starts from the first year of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, the latter from the last year of his father Seleucus IV. The first is simple history, the second has in view the glorification of the Jerusalem Temple as opposed to that erected at Onion in Egypt by the refugee priest Onias. The first book was originally written in Hebrew as St. Jerome expressly states, *Prol. Galeatus*, "The first book of Maccabees I found in Hebrew; the second in Greek, as can be proved from its very style."

The value of these two books for the history of the period is indisputable. Indeed there is no other source of information, and Josephus, in his history of this period, has practically taken over bodily the first book. But precisely because the period is otherwise unknown

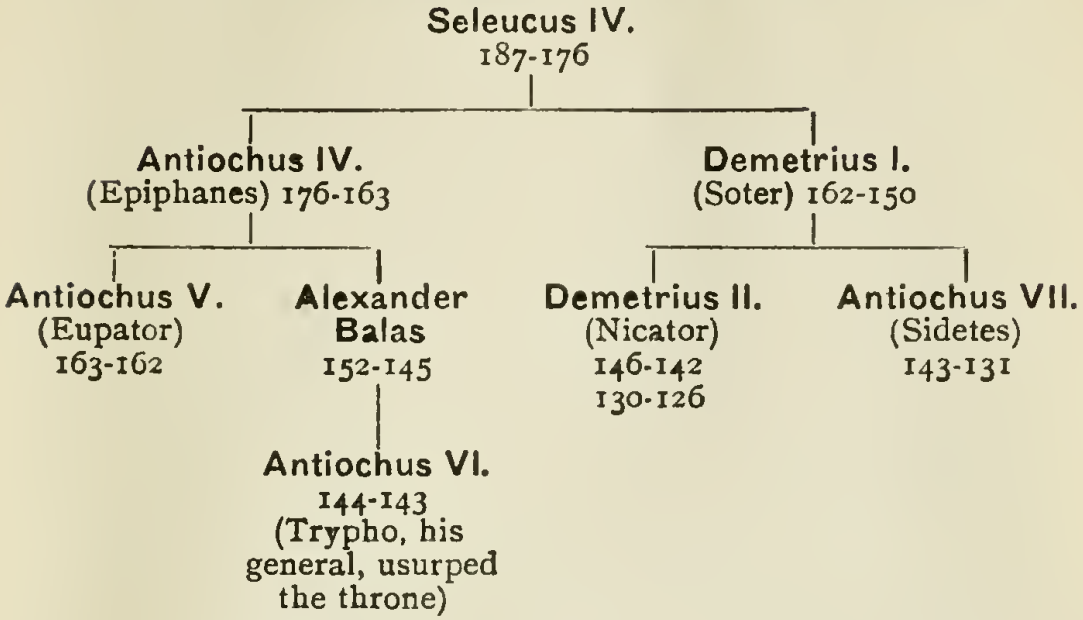
to us, these books are difficult reading, and the student, unless he has a clear idea of the Seleucid kings and their generals, of the Ptolemies and their ambitions, and of the rival factions among the Jews at the time, soon finds himself lost in a maze of names and details. Hence for the sake of clearness, we will prefix a series of tables which will, we hope, render the student's task somewhat easier.

TABLE OF THE SELEUCID KINGS, OF THE PTOLEMIES, AND OF THE HIGH PRIESTS.

The Jews (*under High Priests*).	Egypt (*under the Ptolemies*).	Syria (*under the Seleucid Kings*).
Onias I., 321-310.	Ptolemy I. (*Lagi*), 323-284.	Seleucus I. (*Nicator*), 312-281.
Simon I. (*the Just*), 310-291.		
Eleazar, 291-276. (*The Pentateuch translated into Greek in Egypt.*)	Ptolemy II. (*Philadelphus*), 286-247.	
		Antiochus I. (*Soter*), 281-262.
Manasses, 276-251.		Antiochus II. (*Theos*), 262-247.
Onias II., 251-219.	Ptolemy III. (*Euergetes I.*), 247-222.	Seleucus II. (*Callisthenes*), 247-227.
		Seleucus III. (*Ceraunos*), 227-223.
Simon II., 219-199. (*The Book of Wisdom probably written about this time, in Egypt.*)	Ptolemy IV. (*Philopator*), 222-205.	Antiochus III. (*the Great*), 223-187.
Onias III., 199-175. (*Ecclesiasticus written, in Palestine.*)	Ptolemy V. (*Epiphanes*), 204-180.	
	Ptolemy VI. (*Philometor*), 180-145.	Seleucus IV. (*Philopator*), 187-175. (*II. Macc. opens in last year of his reign.*)

The Jews (*under High Priests*).	Egypt (*under the Ptolemies*).	Syria (*under the Seleucid Kings*).
Jason, 175-172.		Antiochus IV. (*Epiphanes*), 175-164. (*I. Macc. opens in first year of his reign*).
Menelaus, 172-163. (*Mathathias, father of the Maccabees.*)	Ptolemy VII. (IX.) (*Euergetes II., or Physcon.*) 170 (146 *he began to reign alone*) to 117.	
Judas Maccabæus, 166-161.		Antiochus V. (*Eupator*), 164-162.
Jonathan, 161-143. (*Jewish Temple at On in Egypt is founded by the refugee Onias IV.*)		Demetrius I. (*Soter, son of Seleucus IV.*), 162-152.
		Alexander Balas (*son of Antiochus IV.*), 152-145.
Simon, 143-136.		Demetrius II. (*Nicator*), 147-142.
		Antiochus VI. (*son of Alex. Balas*), 144-143.
		Trypho, his general, usurps the throne, 144-143.
John Hyrcanus, 135-106. (*Ecclesiasticus is translated into Greek in Egypt.*)	Ptolemy VIII. (X.) (*Lathyrus*), 117-81.	Antiochus VII. (*Sidetes, son of Demetrius I.*), 143-131.
		Demetrius II. (*for the second time*), 130-126.
Aristobulus the King.		

THE SELEUCID KINGS WHO FIGURE IN I-II. MACCABEES.

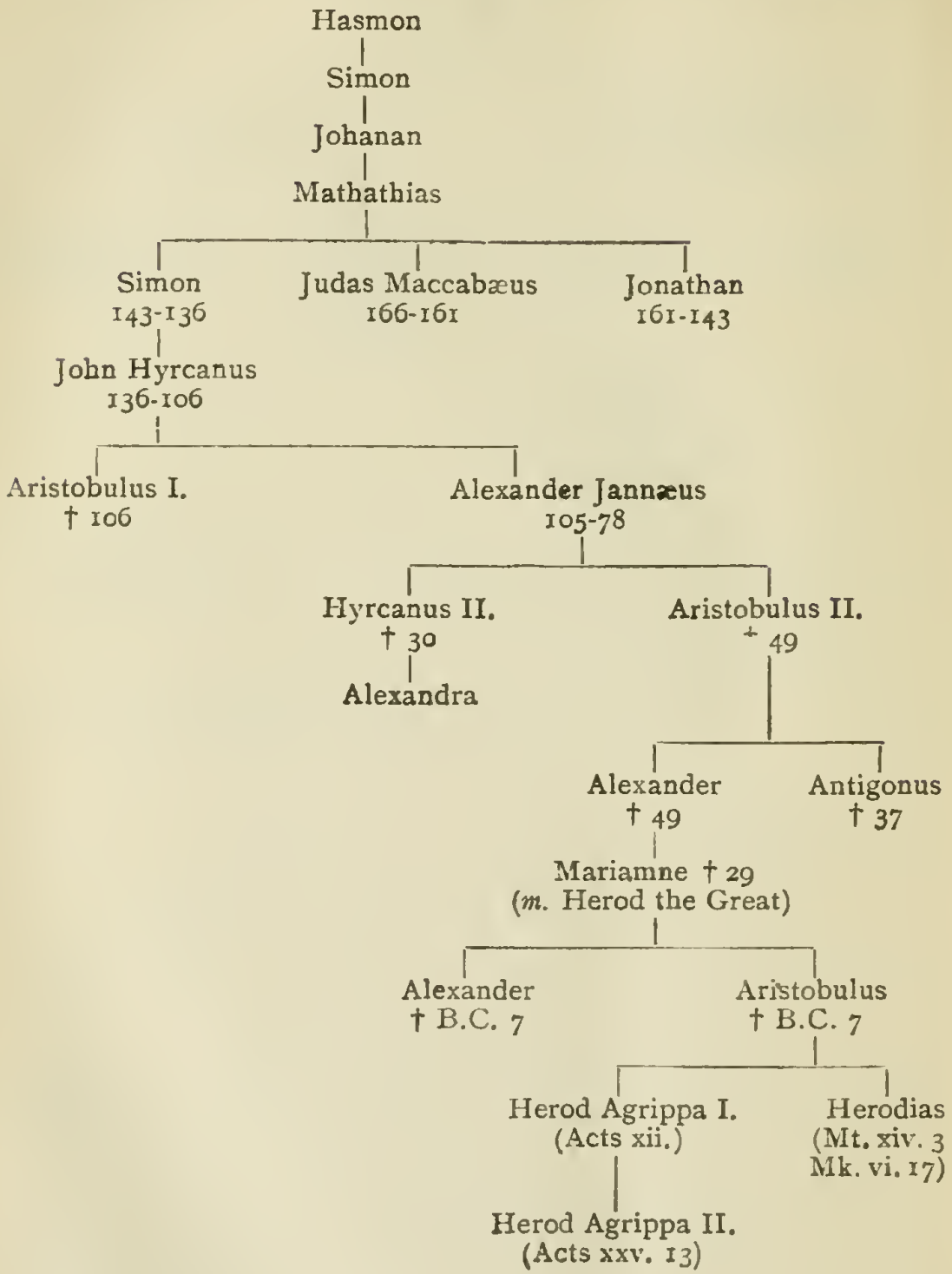


[For the 'Genealogical Tree of the Maccabees, or Hasmoneans,' see page 400.]

Another frequent source of difficulty in reading the story of these wars lies in the number of *Generals* engaged; it will make for clearness if we give a list of these:

1. *Apollonius*, I. iii. 10-11, attacks Judas from Samaria, and is slain.
2. *Apollonius*, I. x. 67-83, general of Demetrius II.; he attacks Jonathan and Simon and is defeated.
3. *Bacchides*, I. vii. 8, a general of Demetrius I.; he retires after devastating the territory round Jerusalem, vii. 20; after the death of Nicanor, *q.v.* he reappears and slays Judas Maccabeus, I. ix. 15; he plots against Jonathan, ix. 25-48, who defeats him; Bacchides, however, holds Jerusalem and the surrounding district; finally he is routed by Jonathan and concludes a peace with him, ix. 70-73.
4. *Gorgias*, termed 'the Governor of Idumaea,' II. xii. 32; he is sent against Judas by Lysias the regent, I. iii. 38, he is defeated and the host flees to Idumaea, iv. 15; later he routs some of Judas' soldiers near Jamnia, v. 56-60.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE MACCABEES, OR HASMONEANS.



5. *Lysias*, I. iii. 32, is left by Antiochus Epiphanes as Governor during the latter's absence in Persia, he is also appointed regent for Antiochus V. He sends Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias to attack the Jews, iii. 38; on their defeat, he gathers an army and marches from Bethoron but is routed, iv. 29-35; he plans another invasion, iv. 35, and this is apparently described in II. xiii., where operations are put a stop to by the rebellion of Philip, *q.v.* in Antioch; Lysias therefore makes peace with the Jews, II. xiii. 26. Lysias, with his ward Antiochus V., is eventually slain by Demetrius I., I. vii. 1-3.

6. *Nicanor*, is first sent against the Jews by Lysias, I. iii. 38, II. viii. 9; after the murder of Lysias he seems to have adhered to Demetrius I., who sent him, I. vii. 26, II. xiv. 12, to attack Judas, Nicanor feigns friendship with Judas, I. vii. 27-31 (cf., however, II. xiv. 18-28), but is defeated by him at Capharsalama, vii. 33; he still holds the citadel in Jerusalem but is ultimately slain in an engagement near Bethoron, vii. 39, 43, cf. II. xv. 28.

7. *Seron*, called 'Captain of the army of Syria,' I. iii. 13; he is routed by Judas near Bethoron, iii. 24.

8. *Timotheus*, 'Captain of the Ammonites,' I. v. 6; he is put to flight by Judas near Bosor across Jordan; he gathers another army at Raphon, v. 37, but is again defeated and slain, II. x. 37.

9. *Timotheus*, II. xii., another general of Antiochus V.; he is defeated, but his life is spared, II. xii. 24.

10. *Trypho*, had belonged to the court of Alexander Balas, I. xi. 39, he took advantage of the disaffection arising from Demetrius II. having disbanded his army, and brought from Arabia Antiochus VI. son of Alexander, xi. 54. He made friends with Jonathan whom, however, he afterwards captured through treachery, xii. 5, 47, and ultimately put to death, xiii. 23; after this murder he also put to death his ward Antiochus VI., xiii. 31. He usurped the throne, xiii. 32, but on the arrival of Antiochus VII., son of Demetrius I., Trypho was deserted, xv. 10, and fled into exile, xv. 37.

THE SERIES OF CAMPAIGNS IN I. MACCABEES.

I. B.C. 166. Judas defeats Apollonius in the neighbourhood of Samaria, iii. 10-12. This is followed by the overthrow of Seron near Bethoron, iii. 13-24, and by that of Nicanor and Gorgias near Emmaus, iii. 38-iv. 24.

II. B.C. 165. Lysias is defeated at Bethsura, according to the LXX., at Bethoron according to the Vulgate and Douay, iv. 28-35.

III. *circa* B.C. 164. Judas conducts a series of campaigns to deliver the Jews from their enemies, v. 1-68.

IV. B.C. 163. Judas assaults the citadel but is compelled to desist owing to the arrival of Lysias who defeats him at Bethzacharias, vi. 18-54.

V. B.C. 162. A campaign under Bacchides, vii. 1-25; Demetrius then sends Nicanor who is slain at Capharsalama, vii. 26-43.

VI. B.C. 161. Demetrius sends Bacchides again, and Judas is slain at Laisa, ix. 1-18.

VII. B.C. 158. Jonathan defeats Bacchides at the fords of Jordan, ix. 25-49; Bacchides however returns, and is defeated again at Bethbessen, ix. 58-73.

VIII. B.C. 141. Apollonius is defeated near Joppe which town Jonathan takes; he defeats Apollonius near Azotus, x. 69-76.

IX. Jonathan again defeats Demetrius' generals, who are encamped at Cades in Galilee, xi. 63-74; he is also successful in a campaign in Emath, xii. 24-33.

X. Simon captures Gaza and also the fortress in Jerusalem, xiii. 43-54.

XI. Antiochus VII. sends Cendebeus who makes Jamnia his headquarters against the Jews, he is defeated by Simon near Modin, xv. 38–xvi. 10.

The key to many of the campaigns undertaken by the Syrians against the Jews lies in the existence of a Syrian garrison in Jerusalem, This was first established by Antiochus IV., I. i. 35; Philip seems to have been its first Governor, cf. II. v. 22 and viii. 8; it was a source of annoyance to the Jews all through this period, iv. 41. Judas assaulted it in vain, I. vi. 18-32. It was strongly fortified by Bacchides, ix. 52-53, who

put Jewish hostages in it; these were afterwards released, x. 6, 9, after the death of Judas. Demetrius I. attempted, x. 32, to bribe the Jews by offering to evacuate the citadel, an offer which, needless to say, he did not carry into execution. The Maccabees storm it, xi. 20-23, but do not succeed in taking it. Jonathan afterwards asks Demetrius, xi. 41, to remove the garrison, the king consents, but, as usual, does not observe his promise, xi. 53. Jonathan thereupon isolates the fortress from the rest of the city, xii. 36; afterwards we find the garrison sending urgent messages to Trypho, xiii. 21-22, to come to their relief, and after Simon's alliance with Demetrius we find the garrison in great straits, xiii. 49, so that they sue for peace and Simon casts them out and purifies the castle with great rejoicings.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Seleucid Era.	B.C.	
I.Macc.i. 11,	137. =	175.	Antiochus IV. reigns.
.....i. 21,	143. ...	169.	He ravages Egypt.
.....i. 57,	145. ...	167.	The 'Abomination of Desolation' is set up.
.....ii. 70,	146. ...	166.	Death of Mathathias.
.....iii. 37,	147. ...	165.	Antiochus IV. goes to Persia.
.....iv. 52,	148. ...	164.	The Dedication.
.....vi. 16,	149. ...	163.	Death of Antiochus IV.
.....vi. 20,	150. ...	162.	Judas assaults the castle.
.....vii. 1,	151. ...	161.	Demetrius I. reigns.
.....ix. 3,	152. ...	160.	Campaign of Bacchides.
.....ix. 54,	153. ...	159.	Alcimus dies.
.....x. 1,	160. ...	152.	Alex. Balas seizes throne.
.....x. 21,	160. ...	152.	Jonathan made High Priest
.....x. 57	162. ...	150.	Ptolemy comes to Ptolemais.
.....x. 67,	165. ...	147.	Demetrius II. arrives.
.....xi. 19,	167. ...	145.	He gains the throne.
.....xiii. 51,	171. ...	141.	The castle seized.
.....xiv. 1,	172. ...	140.	Demetrius II. attacks Trypho.
.....xiv. 27,	172. ...	140.	Roman decree in favour of Simon.
.....xv. 10,	174. ...	138.	Antiochus VII. appears.

These dates are given by the author, and they indicate the historical spirit in which he worked. The Seleucid era began on Oct. 1st, 312 B.C., with the accession of Seleucus I. According to the ordinary mode of reckoning, his first year and the first year of the era thus established, would be B.C. 312-311. But the author of I. Macc. was a Hebrew, and he therefore reckoned the year, not from the October when Seleucus came to the throne, but from the Nisan or April preceding. Hence there is a certain discrepancy in the dates. Thus, for example, in i. 10, where the accession of Antiochus IV. is given, 'the hundred and thirty seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks' will fall between the Oct. of 176 and the Oct. of 175 B.C.; but the author, who reckons months by the Jewish method, cf. i. 57, iv. 52, etc., regards the Seleucid era as beginning in the preceding Nisan or April, i.e. six months too soon. A comparison between II. Macc. xi. 21, xiii. 1, and I. Macc. vi. 16; also between II. Macc. xiv. 4, and I. Macc. vii. 1-5, will show that the compiler of the second book is a year later in his dates and thus presumably followed the Greek rather than the Hebrew method of computation.

Divisions.

A practical comparison of the two books may be made thus:

I. Maccabees.	Seleucid Kings.	II. Maccabees.
iii.-vi. 16	Antiochus Epiphanes	iv. 7-ix.
vi. 17-vii. 3	Antiochus Eupator	x. 9-xiii.
vii. 4-x. 50	Demetrius I.	xiv-xv.

This division, or comparison, shows us how the two books overlap one another; each has its independent introduction, and II. Macc., as already pointed out, only treats of Judas Maccabaeus.

I. MACCABEES.

A. I-II. *The Introduction.*

i. 1-11. The state of things after the death of Alexander the Great. The rise of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, or 'the Illustrious.'

i. 12-16. The attempt at Hellenising the Jews.

i. 17-67. Antiochus ravages Egypt; he enters Palestine, defiles the Temple, establishes the 'castle' in Jerusalem; inaugurates a persecution of the Jews.

ii. The heroic resistance of Mathathias, the father of the Maccabees; the slaughter of unresisting Jews on the Sabbath; the gathering of the 'Saints' or 'Assideans' to proclaim their loyalty to the faith of their fathers; Mathathias' address; his death.

B. III-IX. 23. *The wars of Judas Maccabaeus.*

iii-vi. 17. Against Antiochus Epiphanes.

iii. 10. He overthrows Apollonius.

iii. 13-24. He defeats Seron 'the captain of the army of Syria.'

iii. 27–iv. 61. Judas defeats the army sent by Lysias, the regent, under Gorgias; also one under Lysias himself.

iv. 36-61. Judas cleanses the defiled sanctuary, dedicates the Temple anew, fortifies Sion and Bethsura.

v. Judas conducts campaigns against the heathen throughout the land, he defeats the Idumeans, the Ammonites, and the Galaadites. He twice routs Timotheus.

vi. 1-17. Antiochus in Persia hears of these disasters and dies of a sickness brought on by grief.

vi. 17-63. Judas' wars against Antiochus V. (Eupator).

vii-ix. 23. His wars against Demetrius I.

vii. 4. Demetrius slays Antiochus and Lysias.

vii. 5. He supports Alcimus who opposes Judas out of desire for the High-Priesthood.

vii. Judea is ravaged by Bacchides the general of Demetrius.

vii. 26-50. Nicanor is sent against Judas but is slain; peace is restored for a time.
viii. Judas enters into an alliance with the Romans.
ix. 1-23. Bacchides is again sent against Judas to help Alcimus; Judas is slain in battle.

C. IX. 24-XII. *The wars of Jonathan.*

ix. 24-63. The war against Bacchides.
x. 1-66. The war between Demetrius I. and Alexander Balas, son of Antiochus IV. Both kings strive to gain over Jonathan to their side by offering bribes; Demetrius is slain; Alexander enters into an alliance with Ptolemy and patronises Jonathan.
x. 67–xi. 18. The war between Demetrius II., son of Demetrius I., and Alexander. Jonathan routs the army of Apollonius, general of Demetrius. Ptolemy sides with Demetrius; Alexander flies to Arabia where he is put to death; Ptolemy himself dies three days later.
xi. 19–xii. The wars between Demetrius II. and Trypho the general of Antiochus VII., the son of Alexander Balas. Demetrius allies himself with Jonathan, but, xi. 53, acts treacherously towards him, whereupon Antiochus makes overtures to Jonathan who defeats the generals of Demetrius in the plain of Hasor near the Sea of Galilee, xi. 63-74. At the same time Jonathan renews the treaty formerly made by Judas with the Romans, and also makes one with the Spartans, xii. 1-24; he then routs for the last time the forces of Demetrius, but is betrayed into the hands of Trypho at Ptolemais.

D. XIII-XVI. *The wars of Simon the Maccabee.*

xiii. 1-54. Trypho slays Jonathan, 23; he also puts to death Antiochus VI., 31, and usurps 'the crown of Asia.' Demetrius allies himself with Simon, a period of peace for Judea.
xiv. The war continues between Demetrius II. and Trypho, but the former is imprisoned by the Parthians, xiv. 3. The land flourishes under Simon.

who is declared King and Priest, xiv. 35, after the Romans have written him a letter of amity.

xv-xvi. Antiochus VII., son of Demetrius I., appears. He makes an alliance with Simon; Trypho is put to flight; the Romans declare the Jews their friends; Antiochus breaks his covenant with Simon, xv. 27, and sends Cendebeus, xv. 38, against him, but he is defeated, xvi. 8. Treachery once more does its work, and Ptolemy, of the priestly stock, xvi. 12, betrays Simon and his sons at the fortress of Docus into the hands of the enemy who then put Simon to death. John (Hyrcanus) son of Simon, succeeds, but his 'Acts' are not given.

Four stages in these wars of independence are to be noted:

I. The Purification of the Temple, iv. 59

II. Religious liberty is gained, vi. 59.

III. Peace is established, ix. 73.

IV. Political independence is at length attained, xiii. 42.

II. MACCABEES.

A. I-II. *Introduction*

i. 1-10a. 'In the year 188,' i.e. 124 B.C., a letter from the Jews in Palestine to those in Egypt urging the latter to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles.

i. 10b–ii. 19, a second letter, with no date attached, to the same Jews; it tells of:

(a) 10b-17, the death of Antiochus IV. (the Douay note, referring this to Antiochus VII., Sidetes, is mistaken).

(b) 18. The purification of the Temple; the Feast of Tabernacles; and that of the Sacred Fire. (Note the expressions used in vv. 20 and 23 of the Temple—its exaltation is one of the objects of the Second Book).

(c) 19–ii. 3. The history of the Sacred Fire.

(d) 4-12, The hiding of the tabernacle and the ark by Jeremias after the fall of Jerusalem in 588 B.C.

(e) 13. Nehemias' library.

(f) 14. Judas' restoration of what had been destroyed in the wars.

15-19. An adjuration to keep the Feast of the Purification.

ii. 20-33. The author's, or rather compiler's, preface.

B. III-IV. 6. *What took place under Seleucus IV.*

iii. 1-3. Seleucus is favourable to Onias the High Priest.

iii. 4-40. Simon, out of opposition to Onias, induces Apollonius the governor of Coele-Syria to send Heliodorus to seize the Temple-treasure; the latter's divinely-inflicted punishment.

C. IV. 7–X. 9. *What took place under Antiochus IV.*

iv. 7–v. 10. Jason, Menelaus, and Lysimachus, strive for the High-Priesthood; Onias is murdered; Greek customs are introduced.

v. 11-27. Antiochus enters Jerusalem; he defiles the Temple; he leaves governors in Jerusalem and Garizim; Apollonius slays many on the Sabbath-day.

vi-vii. The persecution; the story of Eleazar; the martyrdom of the seven brethren and their mother.

viii. Judas Maccabaeus comes to the fore; his successes. At the invitation of Philip, Ptolemy, the governor of Coele-Syria, sends Nicanor and Gorgias against Judas; Nicanor is routed, also Timotheus and Bacchides.

ix. Death of Antiochus Epiphanes, his fruitless repentance.

x. 1-9. The Temple is purified and the Feast kept after the manner of Tabernacles.

D. X. 10–XIII. *What took place under Antiochus V., Eupator.*

x. His first campaign against the Jews; Gorgias and Timotheus advance, the latter is slain.

xi. The second campaign; Lysias is put to flight; peace is concluded; letters from Antiochus and from the Romans.

xii-xiii. In spite of the truce, Timotheus (not the same as the previous general of the same name), Apollonius, and Nicanor, still carry on the war; various victories of Judas at Joppe, Jamnia, Casphin, and Scythopolis. Finally Antiochus and Lysias are defeated at Bethsur, a treaty is established and Judas is made Governor, xiii. 24.

E. XIV-XV. *What took place under Demetrius I., Soter.*

xiv. At the instigation of Alcimus, Demetrius sends Nicanor against Judas; Nicanor strikes up a friendship with Judas; the former's treachery; the death of Rasias.

xv. Before the battle with Nicanor, Judas is vouchsafed a vision of Onias and Jeremias; he is presented with a sword from heaven; Nicanor is slain.

THEOLOGY. The theological standpoint of the author of I. Maccabees is of the greatest interest as indicating the state of mind of the Jews after the Restoration and before the advent of Our Lord. In the Greek text, except in iii. 18 where it has been apparently inserted in two MS., the name of God never occurs. Indeed it would seem as though the author went out of his way to avoid It, for he constantly uses the expression 'heaven' instead, and that even where we should naturally expect him to speak of Divine Providence, e.g. iii. 60, iv. 10, ix. 46, xii. 15, xvi. 3, etc. At the same time the author is a devout Jew; and he glories in the temple, and in the victories of the Maccabees as constituting a triumph of righteousness over iniquity. He reverences the Sacred Books, i. 59-60, iii. 48, xii. 9; the feasts and solemnities are a reality for him, i. 47, x. 34, xii. 9, etc. He shows his sense of the Theocracy by using such an expression as 'Blessed art Thou, O Saviour of Israel!' iv. 30, but this is perhaps the only occasion on which he speaks as a Jew of the days of the Prophets would have spoken. This peculiar reticence stands out all the more clearly when we turn to the second book the compiler of which, though writing in Greek, and apparently a Greek himself, yet uses the theological language of the Prophets. It has been too hastily

concluded that the influence of the Scribes had already made itself felt and that the Jewish religion had degenerated into pure formalism. This is too sweeping a conclusion, and is negatived by the deep piety of the author of the first book as well as by that of the compiler of the second. We have a similar feature in the Book of Esther, *q.v.*

THE TEXT. The books of Maccabees were neither translated nor corrected by St. Jerome, as they did not belong to the Hebrew Canon. Hence the Vulgate version represents the Old Latin text which was current before his time. The Greek text exists in several MSS., but, not as far as we know, in any MS. which exactly corresponds to the Vulgate version. Thus, for example, the feature above referred to, namely the absence of the Divine Name in the Greek, is not borne out in the Latin which constantly inserts it. The existing Latin text is thus valuable as bearing witness to a text differing from the Greek MSS. at our disposal.

THE DATE. I. Maccabees probably dates from about the beginning of the first century B.C.; thus xiii. 30, the sepulchre of Jonathan is spoken of as being at Modin 'until this day,' i.e. presumably some time after it was erected in B.C. 143. Again, in ch. viii., the picture of the Romans is not such as a Jew would have drawn about 70, when the Romans were becoming aggressive in the east; Pompey captured the Holy City in 64 B.C. Lastly, in xvi. 23-24, we are told that the deeds of John Hyrcanus, 135-106 B.C. "are written in the book of the days of his High-Priesthood, from the time he became High Priest after his father." It is natural to conclude from this that the author referred to a complete collection of his 'Acts' published after his death. Hence we have the period between 100 and 70 B.C. as probably marking the composition of I. Maccabees.

II. Maccabees may be referred to about the close of the first century B.C. The work is an epitome of five books by Jason; these must have been written after the Hasmonean house had become firmly established, i.e. after the opening of the first century. The

epitome will, of course, date later, but we find it referred to in Heb. xi. 35, cf. II. Macc. vi. 19, 28. Philo too, *c.* B.C. 20–A.D. 50, apparently bases portions of his treatise *Quod omnis probus liber* on chs. vi-vii.

CANONICITY OF I-II. MACCABEES. Since the Reformation these books have always been considered by Protestants as forming no part of Scripture; this view is based on the fact that they were not in the Hebrew Canon. But the Church has always regarded the two Books as Canonical, cf. the Decrees regarding the Canon of the Old Testament, also the table of early quotations of the Deuterocanonical Books.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF I-II. MACCABEES. As already stated, these two books are practically our only source of knowledge of the period. But they are conceived in a quite different spirit. While I. Macc. is a history pure and simple, II. Macc. is an epitome of five books by one Jason, and it is clear that this epitome was undertaken for some set purpose. It is not history in the same sense as I. Macc., and this must always be borne in mind when comparing the treatment of the same events in the two books. The author of the first had abundant and different sources for his work; thus we note the number of documents he cites, also his scrupulous care in giving dates whenever possible; we feel that we are dealing with an historian who has access to thoroughly reliable documents, and who gives them faithfully. The perspective of the compiler of II. Macc. is quite different: his work is the religious history of the period, we might compare his treatment of the events with that adopted by the Chronicler as compared with that adopted by the compiler of III-IV. Kgs. Thus the student should compare the three accounts of the death of Antiochus IV. which are given us in I. Macc. vi. 1-16, II. Macc. i. 11-16, in the second letter prefixed to the book, and ix. 1-27. The note in the Douay version of II. Macc. i. 11-16, refers this second account to Antiochus Sidetes or VII., but this identification can hardly be supported. The campaign of Lysias, I. iv. 26-35, is referred to the year previous to the death of Antiochus IV., cf. iv. 52, and vi. 1; apparently the same

campaign is referred in II. xi. 1-14, to Antiochus V., cf. ix. 25. Again, the campaigns for the deliverance of the Jews throughout the land are in I. v., assigned to the period between the Feast of the Dedication and the Declaration of Religious Liberty, iv. 59–vi. 59; in II. x-xii. these events are placed before and after the declaration of religious liberty, xi. 13-14. Lastly, note the apparent discrepancy between I. vii. 1 and II. xiv. 1.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES. In the Latin Vulgate Bible we find after the New Testament an appendix containing the *Prayer of Manasses* and the *Third and Fourth Books of Esdras.*

These do not form part of the Canon, but, as we are told in a prefatory note, "they are put here apart lest they should be altogether lost, whereas they were sometimes quoted by some of the Fathers and are found in some manuscript, as well as printed, Latin Bibles." As the Prayer of Manasses is exceedingly beautiful, and as many may like to use it as an *Act of Contrition*, we give it here in English:

> O Lord, Almighty, God of our Fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and of their righteous seed; Who hast made heaven and earth with all the ornament thereof, Who hast bound the sea by the word of Thy command, Who hast shut up the deep and sealed it by Thy terrible and glorious Name, Whom all men fear and before the face of Thy power tremble. For unbearable is the majesty of Thy glory and insupportable the wrath of Thy threatenings against sinners; but immeasurable and unsearchable is the mercy of Thy promises. For thou art the Lord, Most High, benign, long-suffering, full of mercy, and regretting the wickedness of men. Thou, O Lord, according to the multitude of Thine immense goodness, hast promised penitence and forgiveness to those who have sinned against Thee, and according to the multitude of Thy mercies Thou hast decreed to give repentance to sinners, unto salvation.
>
> Thou, therefore, Lord God of the just, hast not appointed penitence to the just, to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to those who have not sinned against

Thee. But Thou hast appointed penitence to me a sinner. For my sins exceed in number the sands of the sea. Mine iniquities are multiplied, O Lord, mine iniquities are multiplied, and I am not worthy to look up to or gaze upon the heights of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquities. I am bowed down as with an iron bond and I cannot lift up my head nor can I so much as breathe. For I have stirred up Thy wrath and I have done evil before Thee. I have not done Thy will, and Thy commandments I have not kept; I have set up abominations and I have multiplied offences.

And now I bend the knees of my heart, beseeching of Thee mercy. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and mine iniquities I acknowledge. Wherefore I pray, beseeching Thee: forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not altogether with mine iniquities. Be not angry for ever. Lay not up evils for me. Condemn me not into the lowest parts of the earth. For Thou art God, the God, I say, of the repentant. Towards me Thou wilt show all Thy grace, for Thou wilt save me, all unworthy though I be, according to Thy great mercy. And I will praise Thee always all the days of my life, for all the powers of heaven praise Thee and to Thee is glory for ever and for ever. Amen.

In II. Paral. xxxiii. 18-19, we are told that Manasses prayed and did penance, and further that his prayer was written in the *Acts of the Kings of Israel*, and in the *history of Hozai*. But the prayer itself nowhere appears in the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin Bibles as part of the books of Paralipomena, but only in the collections of Odes which in some Greek MSS. are appended to the Bible. These Odes are taken from the Bible as a rule, but among them we find a paraphrase of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, a hymn which certainly does not occur in the Bible. Hence we have no ground for supposing that the copyists to whom we owe these MSS found all these hymns in the Bible. Some have maintained that the *Prayer* is really a translation from the source mentioned by the Chronicler, see above; others hold that it is not a translation but a free Greek

composition made to suit the event and fill the gap in Paral. xxxiii. Outside Biblical MSS. it occurs in the *Apostolic Constitutions* ii. 22, and it is possible that it was thence copied into the collection of Odes found at the end of the Greek Bibles.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH BOOKS OF ESDRAS. As said above, these two books are appended to the Latin Vulgate Bible, 'lest they be altogether lost.' The canonical Ezra and Nehemias are commonly known to Catholics as I. and II. Esdras. This nomenclature leads to some confusion since the terms I. and II. Esdras are applied by Protestants to the III. and IV. Esdras which form the above-mentioned appendix. In the Greek Bibles we have Esdras A. and Esdras B. The former, Esdras A., is the III. Esdras of the Vulgate appendix; the latter, Esdras B., is the I. and II. Esdras of the Vulgate and Douay versions, the Ezra and Nehemiah of the Protestant Bibles. IV. Esdras does not occur in the Greek Bibles.

The composition of III. Esdras, or the Greek Esdras A., is interesting:

Ch. i.	=	II. Paral. xxxv-xxxvi.
ii. 1-15.	=	I. Esdras (Ezra) i. 1-11.
ii. 16-30,	=	,, ,, ,, iv. 7-24.
iii. 1–v. 6,	=	Peculiar to the book.
v. 7-73,	=	I. Esdras (Ezra) ii. 1–iv. 6.
vi. 1–ix. 36,	=	,, ,, ,, iv. 24–x. 44.
ix. 37-55,	=	,, ,, ,, vii. 73–viii. 13.

But in III. Esdras there are signs of a much freer translation of the original Hebrew, and there are also some small additional passages. We have new names, too, or new forms of old ones.

It will thus be seen that III. Esdras is, with the exception of iii. 1–v. 6, a repetition of portions of canonical Scripture. The portion, however, which is peculiar to the book is of great interest. Briefly: Darius is represented as unable to sleep. His three body-servants wile away the king's sleepless hours by each saying what, in their view, is the strongest thing on earth. The first said *wine*, the second said the *king*, the third—'this was Zorobabel'—at first extolled the power of *women*, but just when he seemed

to have proved his point, he turned about and proved that *truth* was the strongest thing upon earth, ending with the famous words, iv. 41, 'Magna est veritas et praevalet,' not 'praevalebit,' as it is so often quoted. Upon this the prize was awarded to him, and Darius undertook to grant him whatsoever he pleased to ask. Zorobabel therefore asked the king to remember his promise to rebuild the Temple and to restore the vessels which had been taken away. Darius fulfils his promise and the story continues with I. Esdras (Ezra) ii. 1.

It is easy now to understand how the Fathers came to use this book so largely. For it contained nothing that was not in the Bible, except this one striking passage. Thus we find SS. Ambrose, Cyprian, and Augustine among the Latins, and Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, SS. Athanasias, Basil, Chrysostom, and John Damascene among the Greeks, quoting from it freely; cf. *inter alia* St. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* xviii. 36.

IV. ESDRAS is an entirely different book. It consists of a series of visions vouchsafed to Esdras, and the whole resembles the latter part of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John. The only passage of real interest is that in xiv. 19-48, where at the divine dictation Esdras writes ninety-four books, of which he is told to publish twenty-four at once, but to reserve the remaining seventy till a later period. It was easy to see in these twenty-four books the Books of the Old Testament. To this passage is due the idea that when the 'Law' had been destroyed the whole was dictated anew to Esdras who thus preserved it. Up till the year 1875 there was a gap of 71 verses after vii. 35. This gap was filled by the researches of Richard Bensly, and is to be found in the Revised edition of the Apocrypha.

TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM.

The Holy City at present stands on two hills, the East and West. The valley to the East is that of the Cedron, that to the West is that of Hinnom, in Hebrew *Ge-Hinnom*, whence the name Gehenna. The two hills were of old divided by a third valley, that called the Tyropeon or 'of the Cheese-makers,' it is now filled up with debris which in places is a hundred feet deep. The present South wall of the city on the East hill is conterminous with that of the Temple-area or 'Haram enclosure,' but formerly it extended on to the slope of Ophel, the southern extension of the eastern hill. It is practically certain that the original city of the Jebusites was confined to this slope of Ophel, and though this might seem at first sight to reduce the city to very small limits, yet a comparison with the Canaanite cities of Gezer, Taanach, Lachis, etc., which have been excavated in recent years, shows that these ancient cities were extremely small according to our modern notions. A study of II. Paral. xxxii. 1-4, 30, IV. Kgs. xx. 20, and Ecclus. xlviii. 17, in the original Hebrew (Greek for Ecclus.), will show that this aqueduct was almost certainly the rock-hewn tunnel from the Fountain of the Virgin to the pool of Siloam. But this latter is 'West,' II. Paral. xxxii. 30, of the southern end of the eastern hill or Ophel.

Hence the 'City of David' was presumably on the southern end of the eastern hill, and the earliest expansion of the city was northwards on to the Temple mount where also Solomon's palace was built. The city then extended westwards to the hill called by Josephus 'the Upper City.'

After the destruction under Hadrian in 135 A.D., the lower spurs of both the Western and Eastern hills were excluded from the city boundaries; at later periods sometimes one sometimes both of these spurs were included. The present walls—which exclude both spurs—were built in 1542 by Suleiman the Magnificent.

Map A gives a view of modern Jerusalem with its environs; the figures indicate the height in feet above the Mediterranean.

Map B requires some explanation. The present walls are given in black. The Third wall, built by Herod Agrippa, may have coincided with the present North wall, but it is held by some to have lain much further out, see the red line. The course of the Second wall is a matter of dispute. If it lay as suggested by the red line, then the Holy Sepulchre may mark the spot without the walls where Christ suffered, see *Hebrews*, xiii. 12. Many maintain, though without sufficient proof, that this Second wall ran to the West of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre, which in consequence cannot mark the site of Calvary. As far, however, as any traces of the wall have been recovered, the evidence is in favour of the course indicated. The First wall marks the earliest extension of the city. It will be noticed that the city has in the course of centuries receded further up the hill, and it should never be forgotten that the accumulations of rubbish are enormous, and have, as at Rome, completely altered the appearance of the site.

The wavy lines with figures indicate the various heights, if any one line be followed, an idea of the hill-contours can be gained.

A LIST OF SOME

OF THE

PRINCIPAL PROPER NAMES

WHICH APPEAR IN A DIFFERENT FORM

IN THE HEBREW AND GREEK TEXTS

AND CONSEQUENTLY IN THE VERSIONS DERIVED FROM THESE RESPECTIVELY

The Douay Version presents the Proper Names in a form derived from the Greek through the Latin. The English Protestant Versions give in the main the English rendering of the Hebrew spelling. But they are not always consistent, thus *Moses*, *Solomon*, *Isaiah*, etc., do not really represent the Hebrew spelling which would give us such forms as *Moshe*, *Shelomo*, and *Yesha'-yahu*. The differences are mainly due to various Hebrew sibilants which are not distinguished in the Greek, Latin, and English Catholic translations, e.g. *Abisag* for *Abishag*; also to the failure to discriminate between the Hebrew gutturals, e.g. *Haran* for *Charran*, though here again the Protestant *Ahab* is not so correct as the Latin, Greek, and English Catholic *Achab*. In the Protestant Bibles the forms ending in *-iah*, e.g. *Hezechiah*, have the advantage of retaining the Divine name *Yah*, which is disguised in the Catholic termination *-ias*, *Ezechias*. The Greek translators were also inconsistent in their rendering of the Hebrew vowels, thus the Hebrew half-vowel often

becomes *o*, e.g. *Solomon* for *Shelomo*; in the following list the variations in the rendering of these vowels will be apparent. A further source of confusion is St. Jerome's habit of at times translating instead of transliterating Proper Names; instances of this will appear below. The results of this procedure are sometimes quaint in the extreme; thus, for instance, we have in II. Sam. xxiii, a list of David's heroes, one of them is thus described: *Jesbaham sitting in the chair was the wisest chief among the three, he was like the most tender little worm of the wood, who killed eight hundred men at one onset.* This exquisite translation should be compared with that in the Revised Version. In the case of the daughters of Job (xlii. 14), the Douay translators have retained the Latin rendering of their names, so that we read: "And he called the name of one *Dies* (Jemima), and the name of the second *Cassia* (Keziah), and the name of the third *Cornustibii* (Keren-happuch)."

Hebrew Spelling and that of the derived Versions, e.g. the English Protestant Versions.	*Greek and Latin Spelling and that of the derived Versions, e.g. the English Catholic Versions.*
Abednego, Dan. i. 7	Abdenago
Abihu, Lev. x. 1	Abiu
Abijam, III. Kgs. xv. 1	Abiam
Abishag, III. Kgs. i. 3	Abisag
Ahab	Achab
Ahaz	Achaz
Ahaziah	Ochozias
Ahimelech	Achimelech
Ai	Hai
Araunah (Ornan in I. Paral. xii.)	Areuna Ornan
Ashdod	Azotus
Ashkelon	Ascalon
Asnapper, Esdras iv. 10	Asenaphar
Belteshazzar, Dan. i. 7	Baltazzar
Bilhah	Bala
Capernaum	Capharnaum
Charran	Haran
Chebar	Chobar
Coniah, Jer. xxii. 24	Jechonias
Ekron	Accaron
Eli	Heli
Elihu	Eliu

Hebrew Spelling and that of the derived Versions, e.g. the English Protestant Versions.	*Greek and Latin Spelling and that of the derived Versions. e.g. the English Catholic Versions.*
Elijah	Elias
Elisha	Eliseus
Ezra	Esdras
Gedalaiah	Godolias
Habakkuk	Habacuc
Hagar	Agar
Haggai	Aggeus
Ham	Cham
Hamath	Emath
Hamor	Hemor
Heshbon	Hesebon
Hezekiah	Ezechias
Hilkiah	Helcias
Hophni	Ophni
Hosea	Osee
Hoshea	Osee
Huldah	Holda
Ibleam	Jeblaam
Ibsan	Abesan
Iddo	Addo
Jasher, The Book of	The Book of the Just
Jeconiah	Jechonias
Jedidiah, II. Sam. xii. 25	"Amiable to the Lord"
Jeduthun	Idithun
Jehoachaz	Joachaz
Jehoash	Joas
Jehoiachim	Joachin
Jehoiada	Joiada
Jehoiakim	Joachim
Jehonadab	Jonadab
Jehoram	Joram
Jehosaphat	Josaphat
Jehoshua	Josue
Jemima, Job xlii. 14	*Dies*
Jeshurun, Deut. xxxii. 15	"The Beloved"
Jeshimon	Jesimon (I. Sam. xxiii. 24), in Nbs. xxi. 20, etc., translated "desert"
Jesse	Isai in Old Testament; Jesse in New Testament
Kadesh	Cades
Keilah	Ceila
Kenite	Cinean
Kenizzite	Cenezite
Keturah	Cetura
Kir-hareseth, IV. Kgs. iii. 25	"Brickwalls"
Kiriathaim	Cariathaim

Hebrew Spelling and that of the derived Versions, e.g. the English Protestant Versions.	*Greek and Latin Spelling and that of the derived Versions, e.g. the English Catholic Versions.*
Kish	Cis
Kohath	Caath
Korah	Core
Lahai-roi, Gen. xxiv. 62	"The Well of the Living and the Seeing"
Leah	Lia
Lo-Ammi, Osee i. 9	"Not My People"
Lo-Ruammah, Osee i. 6	"Without mercy"
Ma-aleh-akrabbim, Jos. xv. 3	"The Ascent of the Scorpion"
Machpelah, Gen. xxiii.	"The double cave"
Magor-missabib, Jer. xx. 3.	"Fear on every side"
Maher-shalal-hash-baz, Is. viii. 1	"Take away the spoils with speed, quickly take away the prey"
Mamre	Mambre
Mazzaroth, Job xxxviii. 32	"Stars"
Massah, Exod. xvii. 7	"Temptation"
Mehujael, Gen. iv. 18	Maviael
Melzar, Dan. i. 11	Malasar
Mesech, Gen. x. 2	Mosoch; in Ps. cxix. 5, "prolonged"
Mesha, IV. Kgs. iii. 4	Mesa
Michaia, III. Kgs. xxii.	Micheas
Micah	Micheas
Michmash, I. Sam. xiii. 2	Machmas
Midian	Madian
Millo, II. Sam. v. 9	Mello
Minni, Jer. li. 27	Menni
Misrephoth-main, Jos. xi. 8	"Waters of Maserephoth"
Mizar, Ps. xli. 7	"The little hill"
Mizpah, Jud. x. 17	Maspha
Moreh, Gen. xii. 6	"The Noble Vale"
Naamah, Gen. iv. 22	Noema
Naomi	Noemi
Nebuchadnezzar	Nabuchodonosor
Nehushtan, IV. Kgs. xviii. 4	Nohestan
Nergal-sharezer, Jer. xxxix. 3	Neregel, Sereser (two names)
Nethinim, I. Paral. ix. 2	Nathinim
Noah	Noe
Obadiah	Abdias
Ornan (cf. Araunah)	
Uzziah	Ozias
Paran	Pharan
Pas-dammim, I. Paral. xi. 13	Phesdomim
Passover	Phase, in Old Testament; in New Testament, Pasch
Pathros	Phetros, Is. xi. 11; Phatures, Jer. xliv. 1

Hebrew Spelling and that of the derived Versions, e.g. the English Protestant Versions.	*Greek and Latin Spelling and that of the derived Versions, e.g. the English Catholic Versions.*
Pekah, IV. Kgs. xv. 25	Phacee
Pekahiah, IV. Kgs. xv. 25	Phaceia
Pelatiah, Ezech. xi. 1	Pheltias
Peninah, I. Sam. i. 2	Phenenna
Penuel	Phanuel
Perezuzzah, II. Sam. vi. 8	"The striking of Oza"
Phinehas	Phinees
Pi-beseth, Ezech. xxx. 17	Bubastis
Pisgah, Nbs. xxiii. 14	Phasga
Rehoboam	Roboam
Reuel, Exod. ii. 18	Raguel
Rizpah, II. Sam. iii. 7	Respha
Reuben	Ruben
Sela-hammahlekoth, I. Sam. xxiii. 28	"The Rock of Division"
Shadrach, Dan. i. 7	Sidrach
Shallum, IV. Kgs. xv. 10	Sellum
Shalmanezer	Salmanasar
Shealtiel, Esdras iii. 2	Salathiel
Shechem	Sichem
Sheshach, Jer. xxv. 26	Sesac
Shem	Sem
Shew-Bread	"Loaves of Proposition"
Shinar	Senaar
Shishak	Sesac
Taberah, Nbs. xi. 3	"The Burning"
Tahapanes, Jer. xliii. 7	Taphnes
Tekoa	Thecua
Terah	Thare
Tiphsah, III. Kgs. iv. 24	Taphsa
Tirshatha	Athersatha
Tirzah, III. Kgs. xiv. 17	Thersa
Tishbite, III. Kgs. xvii. 1	Thesbite
Uzziah	Ozias
Zadok	Sadoc
Zarephath	Sarepta
Zedekiah	Sedecias
Zephaniah	Sophonias
Zeruiah	Sarvia
Zidon	Sidon
Ziklag	Siceleg
Zion	Sion
Zipporah	Sephora

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